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FERRIES IN SCOTLAND BETWEEN 1603 AND
THE ADVENT OF STEAM

by

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VOLUME I

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FERRY LOCATIONS WITHOUT LINKS TO BURGHS.
SOUTHERN SCOTLAND

18A

FERRY LOCATIONS WITHOUT LINKS TO BURGHS.
NORTHERN SCOTLAND

18B

CASTLES AND CATHEDRALS, ESTABLISHED BY THE
14th CENTURY, FOUND TO BE NEAR THE SITES OF
FERRIES

50A

FERRIES AT LOCATIONS WITH BURGH STATUS

90A

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used conform to the list of 'Abbreviated Titles' in SHR, xlii (1963), with the addition of the following:

<u>Aboyne Recs., 1230-1681</u>	<u>The Records of Aboyne 1230-1681</u> (New Spalding Club, 1914).
<u>Agri. Aberdeenshire</u>	Keith, G.S., <u>A General View of the</u> <u>Agriculture in the County of</u> <u>Aberdeenshire</u> (Aberdeen, 1811).
<u>Agri. Argyll</u>	Robson, J., <u>A General View of the</u> <u>Agriculture in the County of Argyll</u> (London, 1814).
<u>Agri. Caithness</u>	Henderson, J., <u>A General View of</u> <u>the Agriculture in the County of</u> <u>Caithness</u> (London, 1812).
<u>Agri. Central Highlands</u>	Marshall, W., <u>A General View of</u> <u>the Agriculture in the Central</u> <u>Highlands of Scotland</u> (London, 1794).
<u>Agri. Fife</u>	Beatson, R., <u>A General View of</u> <u>the Agriculture in the County of</u> <u>Fife</u> (Edinburgh, 1814).
<u>Agri. Hebrides</u>	Macdonald, J., <u>A General View of</u> <u>the Agriculture in the Hebrides</u> (London, 1811).
<u>Agri. Inverness</u>	Robertson, J., <u>A General View of</u> <u>the Agriculture in the County of</u> <u>Inverness</u> (Inverness, 1813).
<u>Agri. Northern Counties</u>	Sinclair, Sir John, <u>A General View</u> <u>of the Agriculture in the Northern</u> <u>Counties and Islands of Scotland</u> (London, 1795).
<u>Agri. Perth</u>	Robertson, J., <u>A General View of</u> <u>the Agriculture in the County of</u> <u>Perth</u> (Perth, 1794).
<u>Argyll Reg. Sasines</u>	<u>Particular Register of Sasines,</u> <u>Argyll.</u>

Bruce of Sumburgh MSS

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Customs Ret. 1669-1673Customs Returns 1669-1673Dec. Court of Session

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Elgin Recs.

The Records of Elgin (New Spalding Club, 1903-1908).

Ferry, Dundee, 1825

Hall, Captain Basil, An Account of the Ferry across the Tay at Dundee (Edinburgh, 1825).

Forbes, Life and Letters

Menary, G., The Life and Letters of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President of the Court of Sessions 1685-1747 (London, 1936).

Gardies House MSS

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Glasgow Recs. 1691-1717

Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow 1691-1717 ed R. Renwick (Glasgow, 1908).

Glasgow Recs. 1718-1738

Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow 1718-1738, with Charters and Documents 1708-1738 ed. R. Renwick (Glasgow, 1909).

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Hebrides, Review

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Invernessiana

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Islay Stent Book 1718-1843

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Laws of Scotland

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McKechnie, Lamont

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Misc. Scott. Burgh Rec. Soc.

Miscellaneous Scottish Burgh Records Society (1881-).

NRA(S)

National Register of Archives (Scotland).

NSA

The New Statistical Account of Scotland 1845, 15 volumes (Edinburgh and London, 1855).

OSA

The Statistical Account of Scotland ed. Sir John Sinclair 21 vols. (Edinburgh, 1811-1821).

Robertson, Index

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Scott. Systems of Husbandry

Sinclair, Sir John, An Account of the Systems of Husbandry of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1812).

SHS

Scottish Historical Society.

Sibbald, Treatises

A Collection of Several Treatises in Folio concerning Scotland (Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1739).

SRO

Scottish Record Office.

SRS

Scottish Record Society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I am grateful to the Scottish Record Office for permission to reproduce a letter published by the Dundee Advertiser, 1834, and the Granton and Burntisland winter ferry timetable, 1842. I also acknowledge the permission granted by Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum to reproduce "The Highland Ferryman" by William Dyce.

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ABSTRACT

Ferries in Scotland between 1603 and the Advent of Steam

This research examines the place of ferries in the national communication network of Scotland between the Union of the Crowns and the advent of steam. A total of 431 ferries were identified and are listed in the Gazetteer. The effect upon the ferries is assessed in both the era of pre-modernisation and during that of modernisation with certain trends and patterns being defined.

The search for data revealed that papers in some private collections as well as those in some of the public archives are as yet uncategorised. In both the uncategorised papers as well as in the classified documents, evidence regarding ferries is sporadic and fragmentary. Moreover, it is unusual to find the topic "Ferries" appearing in any table of contents or index, even in published works. Information derived from primary historical and geographical sources, together with legal and civil administration records, augmented by social comments recorded at the time, in addition to secondary sources form the basis for the work.

While changes occurred at ferries throughout the period studied these accelerated in the early nineteenth century by reason of the growing demands resulting from economic modernisation in Scotland. The need for speedier and more convenient travel gave rise to a proliferation of bridge building which in turn had an adverse effect on ferry services in the locality of the new bridges. Surviving ferry services were faced with three options in response to the pressures of economic modernisation. Firstly, they could remain unchanged, secondly, facilities could be adapted and the boats re-designed or thirdly, the man-propelled or sail-powered boats could be replaced by steam-driven boats.

Although the building of the railway extended the system of communication in Scotland it had little effect on ferry services in general apart from the expansion of those ferry services situated near railway termini. In other parts of the country little attention was paid to existing ferries which continued to operate as before. Therefore, the national communication network in Scotland in the early nineteenth century remained irregular and incomplete.

Waiting For The Ferry



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This work is concerned with the development of ferries in Scotland between the Union of the Crowns and the advent of steam. This period, of course, witnessed the transformation of the Scottish economy from an essentially mercantile-based system to one which was recognisably capitalist in the modern sense. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the place of ferries in the national communication network and to assess the effect upon them in the process of economic modernisation.

Ferries were, by the law of Scotland, 'inter regalia'¹ and were established for the benefit of the public to convey passengers and goods by boat from one side of a narrow sea, estuary, river or loch to the opposite side, either in one direction or in both, thus forming "a part of the high road of the country".²

A right of ferry constituted a "heritable estate created by direct grant from the Crown or was established by prescription upon a habile title".³ The right of ferry was thus alienable, and could eventually belong to a public corporation or to a private individual as well as to the Crown itself. Moreover, the right of ferry involved the obligation to maintain and serve the ferry by the provision and manning of a "fit and sufficient boat",⁴ the right to extract stated dues for the service and protection from illegal competition for custom by other boats in the vicinity. The right of ferry, on a similar basis to the right to hold a fair, was exclusive⁵

but this law was sometimes ignored by licensees of other rights, particularly fishing. Fishermen not infrequently assumed the right to operate a ferry as well as to fish but in 1731 it was established by law that "it is not in the power of others who may have a right of fishing upon the same part of the water to interfere with the proprietor of the ferry boat by carrying over passengers for hire".⁶ However, other proprietors of land which bordered stretches of water within the same bounds of a ferry were permitted to transport gratuitously members of their family, servants, visitors and employees.⁷

Ferries were designated 'public' or 'private' but the only distinguishing legal feature in relation to these categories was that public ferries were those regulated by special acts of Parliament and consequently directed by authorities appointed by the state who were empowered to control not only the rates charged but also the allocation of the income earned by the ferry services. Private ferries, however, were granted by the Crown to private individuals or to corporations, albeit for the convenience and well-being of the public at large. Although these ferries were subject to standardised local regulations, they comprised a source of revenue solely for the financial benefit of their proprietors.⁸

The legal distinction between the right of ferry and the right of free port was a controversial issue and was not clarified until the early nineteenth century in relation to

estuary ports which were also ferry locations. It was established then that ferries functioning at these ports were, in common with all other ferry services, required to serve the public at all times, by night as well as by day if requested, and in addition to provide piers, landing places, boats and boatmen, to charge only the regulated fares and to be subject to the regulations decreed by government appointed authorities. At a free port, however, boats could be hired spontaneously through negotiation with the boatmen who were at liberty to accept or reject any request. Such boatmen, in contrast to ferrymen, had no obligation to supply a service for the public.⁹

There has been very little investigation into the development of ferries in Scotland during the period studied and hitherto no comprehensive research into this field has been published.

Reference to ferries in records, papers and books is sporadic and fragmentary and, in many cases, the search for information proved to be abortive. Prior to the eighteenth century, data regarding ferries is mainly to be found in such sources as Acts of Parliament, the Register of the Privy Council, the Registrum Magni Sigili Regum Scotorum and in the charters and documents concerning the burghs of Banff,¹⁰ Elgin,¹¹ Inverness,¹² Aboyne,¹³ Aberdeen,¹⁴ Dundee,¹⁵ Stirling,¹⁶ Glasgow¹⁷ and Lanark,¹⁸ as well as of other burghs and religious houses. The scarcity of references to ferries in these records results in incomplete information concerning their condition and function at that

time. However, additional sources of reference augmented the data available and these included the Dunkeld Rentale, the Dunfermline Registrum and Halyburton's Ledger.

Documentation relating to ferries is more readily found in respect of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than of the seventeenth century. In certain areas, the minutes of Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply Committees were a rich source of reference but the current categorisation of these records is variable. For example, in Argyll and Bute District Council Archives (Lochgilphead), the minutes of the Argyllshire Committees are categorised, whereas in the Borders Regional Council Archives (Newtown St. Boswells), no classification of similar papers is made. In many areas records have been lost or mislaid. Even minutes which are available frequently lacked continuity and the recording of the implementation of decisions taken by committees was often omitted. Road Trustee Committee Minutes, available in the early nineteenth century, are fragmentary and, in the main, are poorly categorised throughout the country.

The minutes of town and burgh councils, particularly those of Lanark, Dundee, Perth, Inveraray and Elgin, contain references to the ferries operating in their vicinity. The history of the ferry at Perth, for example, is well charted in the minutes of Perth Town Council.

The Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-1799) and the New Statistical Account (1845) identify the existence of many

ferries and although the comments contained in these accounts are often subjective, nevertheless, they give the opportunity for greater understanding concerning the function of ferries in different localities at that time. Similarly, Sir John Sinclair's statements on the state of agriculture in Scotland, together with other agricultural reviews, include references to the position of ferries in the national communication system and give a broader perspective of their function. A more detailed list of ferries, together with some references to their history, is to be found in Macfarlane's Geographical Collections. In this work, ferries are not only named but, in many cases, the precise location of the ferry site is given by stating the exact mileage to the nearest town or village.

Numerous maps were studied to establish the existence of ferry locations but many ferry sites were omitted on these maps. The early maps of Robert and James Gordon, Timothy Pont, Blaeu and Sibbald tend to indicate only ferries situated on the Firths on the east coast of Scotland. Roy's map, mid-eighteenth century, includes the location of some of the ferries in different parts of Scotland.

Ainslie's maps of Peeblesshire, Berwickshire and Renfrewshire, compiled between 1770 and 1796, provides more accurate detail and confirms the existence of many local ferries.

In the eighteenth century, when more extensive travel was undertaken in Scotland, publications of reports, surveys and journeys became more common. These publications provide

a wide range of comment regarding the economic and social life of Scotland at that time in addition to including references to ferries and other modes of travel. These writings included Martin's Western Isles, Defoe's A Tour of the Whole Island of Great Britain, Burt's Letters, Walker's Report on the Hebrides, Knox's Highlands and Hebrides, Pennant's A Tour of Scotland, Johnson's A Tour to the Western Isles, Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides and Heron's Scotland Delineated. In the nineteenth century, additional publications from men of perception such as Lord Cockburn and James Mitchell provided valuable social and economic insight. The search for primary sources of data was extended to family documents but most of these yielded little information with regard to ferries in spite of the fact that many of these families held rights of ferry. The Gordon family documents proved to be an exception and data concerning the ferry at Fochabers is included in them.

It has been suggested that "had the Union of the Parliaments come to pass in 1689 instead of 1707, history would unquestioningly have given the verdict that the period of the Union of the Crowns had been favourable to Scottish economic advance".¹⁹ The rate of growth of Scottish prosperity was retarded by economic and political influences. Between 1689 and 1691 trade with France and the Baltic fell sharply²⁰ while simultaneously the loss of the 1698-1699 harvest resulted in famine and serious deprivation due to the high cost of corn.²¹ In 1699, attempts were made to establish

a trading colony at Darien in the Panama area of Central America, but as no cognizance had been taken of the geographical environment or of Scotland's inability to supply appropriate goods or of the opposition of the Spaniards who controlled the colony, failure was perhaps inevitable. In addition, when no help was forthcoming from English and Jamaican settlers disease overcame the traders and disaster was unavoidable. Scotland lost over £150,000 sterling.²² In 1702, renewal of the war with France resulted in a further trading deficit and the Scottish economy was at a low ebb.

After the Union of the Parliaments, the attitude of an English-dominated Parliament towards Scotland and Scottish affairs provided grounds for Jacobitism to be fostered. In 1715, the first Jacobite rebellion, no doubt inflamed by such issues as the refusal of Parliament to repeal the malt and salt taxes in Scotland, challenged the sovereignty of the Hanoverian, George I. In an inefficient and ineffectual campaign, the rebel forces were defeated and attempts were gradually made to stabilize Scotland politically and economically.

The Shawfield riots in Glasgow in 1725, concerned with an increased malt tax, only highlighted the impression of "no-administration" then widespread in Scotland.²³ Sir Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister, tried to strengthen the administration by dismissing the Duke of Roxburghe from the

post of Secretary for Scotland and fully supporting the opposing faction led by the Duke of Argyll. This, together with other moves, did achieve a climate of relative calm which enabled certain economic initiatives to be pursued. A Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures was set up in 1727²⁴ to promote technical improvements to advance the textile trade, to encourage change in agricultural methods and to support the expansion of the fishing industry. In spite of limited funds, this Board made a positive contribution to the provision of opportunities for growth within defined parameters. In addition, the growing commerce of Glasgow during the first half of the eighteenth century in relation to the steady expansion of the colonial tobacco trade, not only enhanced the economic and social position of the city but reflected beneficially on the hinterland surrounding it.²⁵ Simultaneously, the cattle trade from the Western Isles was gaining momentum.

These signs of economic revival and political stability were undermined in the early 1740s by the fall of Walpole after some years of increasingly weak government. This position was exploited by the Jacobites in Scotland and the uprising in 1745 was led by Prince Charles Edward Stewart but it proved to be a short-lived, although intensive campaign.²⁶ Government forces inflicted not only defeat but reprisals on the rebels to ensure the demilitarisation of the clans. In Scotland, throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, ferries, in common with other institutions providing a national service, had to contend

with the uncertainties and changes taking place in the political, economic and social life of the nation.

Information regarding the history of Scotland, which formed the background to the development of the ferries, was acquired from many different sources but particularly included such publications as the four volumes of the Edinburgh History of Scotland by Duncan, Nicholson, Donaldson and Ferguson and the four volumes of the New History of Scotland by Barrow, Wormald, Mitchison and Lenman.

Insight into the economic development of Scotland was sought in such publications as Smout's Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union, Campbell's Scotland Since 1707, Hamilton's An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, Hunter's The Making of the Crofting Community, Whyte's Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland and Fenton's Scottish Country Life.

Furthermore, Smout's A History of the Scottish People 1530-1830, Mitchison's A History of Scotland and Adams' The Making of Urban Scotland all provided invaluable sources of facts and comments regarding the social and economic development of Scotland with particular reference to the period between 1603 and the advent of steam. The philosophy of modernisation was effectively propounded by Adam Smith in his well-known treatise The Wealth of Nations. The detailed way in which this was understood and applied is well illustrated in such a work as The Historical Geography of Scotland Since 1707 by Turnock. The view of an

historical geographer can appropriately be applied to the study of ferries. The Historical Geography of Scotland by Kermack and An Historical Geography of Scotland edited by Whittington were also found to be useful sources of reference.

This thesis is based on six perspectives; firstly, the theoretical concepts underpinning the relationship between the modernisation of Scotland's economy and the development of ferries, together with reference to the rate of change; secondly, the geographical factors forming a physical environment which exert a strong influence on ferry services; thirdly, the historical aspects which provide a chronological framework within which change can be monitored; fourthly, the economic development of Scotland which reflected the changing patterns of supply and demand at ferries; fifthly, the social structure comprising complex social interactions in response to a growth of population and the effect of this on ferries; and finally, the establishment of a national communication network and the resulting impact on ferries.

Modernisation in Scotland covered the change from a traditional, agrarian society to an industrially based, wider trading system which took off in the mid-eighteenth century.²⁷ Prior to that time Scotland, in keeping with much of Europe, had been dominated by a mercantile system of trading and a feudal system of landowning. The spur to change was not only to be found in the advance in technology and the corresponding expansion in industry but also in the greater need

for individual liberty demanded by a growing population. According to Adam Smith, this, in turn, emphasised an interest in the consumer as opposed to the producer, a distinction between productive and unproductive labour and the more effective deployment of capital.²⁸ The development of ferries, especially in the early nineteenth century, may prove to be an illustration of the theory of modernisation.

In different areas, the level of modernisation varies according to the rate of integration of the economic development. Rostow's model for the modernisation of an economy included in his 'preconditions', 'take-off', 'maturity' and 'high mass consumption',²⁹ may appear to be too simplistic. Nevertheless, such a model does illustrate the different stages to be experienced if economic growth is to be achieved. The greater the impact of modernisation of the Scottish economy in the early nineteenth century, the more quickly the central area of the country developed industrially and economically. At the same time, commercial and social changes did take place in peripheral areas but the rate of change was slower and less intense. This disparity between highland and lowland Scotland was not new but as the rate of development accelerated in the lowlands, the gap between the centre and the periphery grew more marked. The question of how such a climate affected the ferries in each region must be asked. Captain Basil Hall's article concerning the ferry plying across the Tay at Dundee and published in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal in 1825, included

the notion that any improvement in ferry services "must contribute to the advancement of human happiness".³⁰ This concept was perhaps not universally accepted or applied.

Until the modernisation of the economy of Scotland began, the national communication system had little incentive to change. Prior to the seventeenth century, Scotland's main routes of communication were by sea with the main economic centres situated on the east coast, especially bordering the Firths of Forth and Tay. Blaeu's Atlas maps (1662) do show a number of main routes leading from such burghs and towns as Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen and Inverness. At that time, approximately 220 medium-sized bridges existed throughout the country. Consequently, ferries and fords were important factors in the movement of people and goods from one place to another.³¹ This importance is reflected in the names attributed to some locations where ferries and fords facilitated a passage across stretches of water. These names included Cobletown of Tullich on the River Dee, Boat of Garten on the River Spey, Ferryden on the South Esk near Montrose, Broughty Ferry on the Tay estuary, Earlsferry and, most famous of all, North and South Queensferry on the Forth.

Between 1726 and 1740 Wade planned and constructed a system of roads and bridges in the Highlands but he found it necessary to concentrate on forming road links which, in the main, were not intersected by ferries.³² These new roads were built to meet a military not an economic need

and as the need for military control diminished in the subsequent relatively peaceful climate of post 1715 Scotland, interest in the maintenance or extension of roads decreased. The events of 1745 rekindled an awareness that the standard of communication routes in Scotland was not high. Furthermore, the growing demands of expanding trade, developing industry, increasing numbers of people more willing to travel added incentives for patterns of communication to be examined more closely. The accelerated rate of change and increased demands of the early nineteenth century had to be taken into account. Questions arise concerning ways in which the national and regional communication networks were changed in response to these demands and how, as part of a national and regional communication network, the character and viability of ferries were adapted.

In this study the history of Scottish ferries will be traced in the context of the prevailing economic and social climates. A dual classification, geographical and functional, will be adopted in order to examine the process and nature of the development of these ferries. Accordingly, the ferries are categorised as Estuary Ferries, River Ferries, Sea Loch Ferries and Island Ferries. At the conclusion of the work a full gazetteer will be included.

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CHAPTER TWO

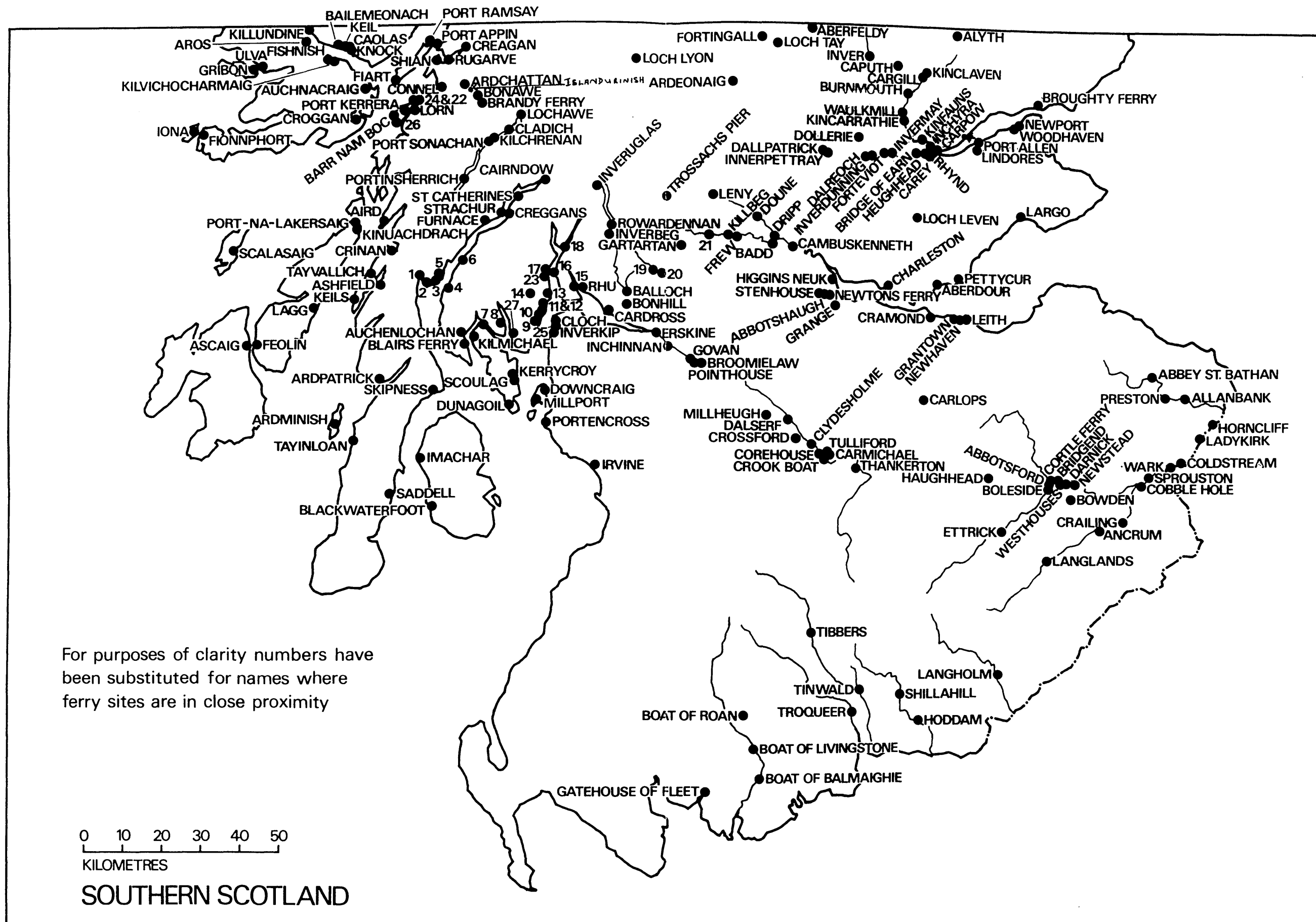
A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF THE PLACE
OF FERRIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCOTLAND

The history of Scottish ferries from the Union of the Crowns to the advent of steam, mirrors the pattern of change occurring in the life of Scotland during this period, as ferries formed an important link in the national communication network. This chapter outlines the ways in which the Scottish economy, together with the geographical, historical and social factors, affected the ferries and thus contributed to the development of ferry services.

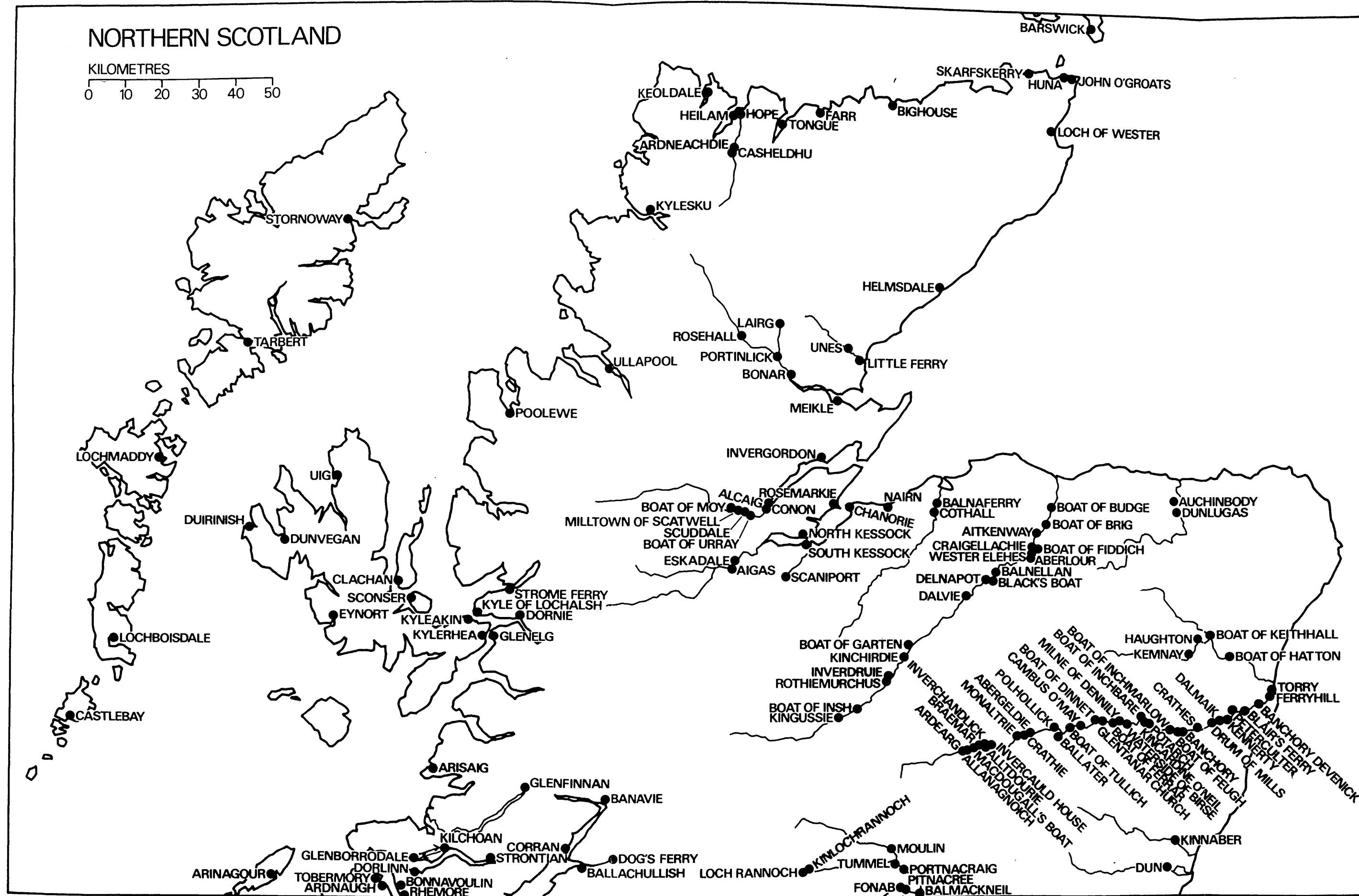
The distinguishing geographical features of Scotland directly affected the location, nature and function of the ferries. The Scottish land mass, shaped by glacial configurations before 8000 BC¹ consists of high hills, coastal plains and fertile valleys which are intersected by many rivers, lochs and sea passages. The more productive, continuous eastern seaboard contrasts with the barren, fragmented west and north-west coastlines which are bounded by the archipelago of the Inner and Outer Hebrides. The islands of Orkney and Shetland lie beyond the north coast separated from the mainland by the Pentland Firth. The gradual decline of the land eastwards towards the coast gives rise to a number of rivers such as the Forth, Tay, South Esk, North Esk, Dee, Don, Spey, Findhorn, Lossie, Beaulie and Conon which are of greater length and volume of water than any to be found in the west north of the Clyde.

The extensive estuaries or firths where some of the rivers meet the North Sea are characteristic of the east coast, whereas in the west long arms of the sea penetrate the land forming sea lochs and sounds. These numerous water passages posed logistical problems when attempts to form communication routes were made. The selection of sites for ferry locations depended on many factors including the type of terrain surrounding the approaches to crossing points, the width, depth and nature of water to be crossed and the prevailing weather conditions in the area. A further key factor was the composition of the bed of the river, loch or sea loch as this not only influenced the design of boat and type of propulsion deemed to be suitable for particular crossings, but also affected the position and structure of possible landing places. Easier access to landing places was more likely to be available in the flatter, less over-grown and more cultivated eastern regions than in the mountainous, desolate west. Mountain ranges extending across the country from south-west to north-east divided Scotland into Highlands and Lowlands, a geographical division which was further reinforced by economic and social differences.² This partition made it difficult for routes of communication to be established between the Highlands and the Lowlands. The difference between Lowland ferry services and those in the Highlands was as marked as the difference in the number and conditions of roads and bridges in the two areas.³ Whereas most of the ferries south and east of the Highland line became part of the national communication system, those functioning to the north and west of it largely remained isolated, serving

Ferry Locations Without Links to Burghs



- 1 LOCHGILPHEAD
- 2 SILVERCRAIGS
- 3 OTTER WESTER
- 4 OTTER EASTER
- 5 PORT ANN
- 6 CHAPEL FERRY
- 7 COLINTRAIVE
- 8 COUSTON
- 9 BULLWOOD
- 10 DUNOON
- 11 KIRN
- 12 HUNTER'S QUAY
- 13 BLAIRMORE
- 14 ORCHARD
- 15 ROSENEATH
- 16 COULPORT
- 17 PORTINDORNOCH
- 18 PORTINCAPLE
- 19 CULLNAMUNE
- 20 DRYMEN
- 21 CARDROSS
- 22 DUNOLLIE
- 23 ARDENTINNY
- 24 ARDENTRIVE
- 25 ARDGOWAN
- 26 ARDMORE
- 27 ARDYNE



only the locality. The Western Isles were characterised by their comparative isolation both from each other and from the mainland. While regular contact was eventually established towards the end of the eighteenth century by the institution of statutory ferries, during earlier periods communication between inhabitants of different islands was minimal with interaction taking place mostly on a warring basis. Orkney and Shetland which, geographically, were favourably positioned in relation to international trading routes, experienced wider contacts with Scandinavian, Dutch and German merchants as well as with Scottish traders from sea ports on the east coast.⁴

The siting and usage of ferry boats in Scotland was directly related to the fertile or infertile composition of the soil, the existence of pasture land or stony outcrops and the wealth or the lack of mineral deposits. Scotland's economy was principally agrarian and such reliance on agricultural produce tended to inhibit national progress and prosperity. Traditional methods of land distribution, including the run-rig system and the infield/outfield division of land, persisted until the eighteenth century.⁵ Lack of communication routes both reflected and caused the low standard of living in Scotland; lack of goods to be carried gave little incentive to improve ferries, roads and bridges, yet if these had been better maintained the conveyance of goods to market would have been easier. From the mid-eighteenth century, changes gradually took place both in agriculture and in communication routes as agricultural products became surplus to requirements. Having

surplus produce to sell was the outcome of innovations such as crop rotation, new fodder and textile crops, more skilful animal husbandry and improved design of agricultural machinery.⁶ Ferries serving these developing agricultural communities, mainly in central, eastern and north-eastern areas, had the opportunity to increase the amount of traffic conveyed by them with the additional benefit of an increased revenue.

In the period between the 1750s and the 1820s, ferries servicing the north-west region of Scotland and the Western Isles had to accommodate the dramatic expansion of the cattle and kelp trades.⁷ Traffic among the islands and between them and the mainland increased so that more and larger boats had to be provided in order to adapt to the new demands being made upon them. The economic viability of the cattle and kelp trades was directly linked with the efficiency of the ferry services carrying these cargoes.⁸ Ferries most directly involved in attempting to meet such demands included those sailing between Kylerhea in Skye and Glenelg, Auchnacraig on Mull and Barr nam Boc on the island of Kerrera, Ardentrive on Kerrera and Dunollie in the district of Lorn and between Lagg on Jura and Keills in Morvern. Ferries crossing sea lochs which intersected droving routes leading to southern markets also experienced an increased volume of traffic due to the development of the cattle and kelp trades. Such ferries included those at Ullapool on Loch Broom, Kyle and Dornie on Loch Alsh, Strontian and Liddesdale on Loch Sunart,

Ballachulish on Loch Etive and Creagan and Shian on Loch Creran.

Possibilities for the utilisation of certain ferries increased as a consequence of the greater use made of the natural resources to be found in different areas. In the early nineteenth century, the mining of coal, already a well-established industry, was transformed by the introduction of new steam-powered machinery which not only prevented flooding in pits but also greatly increased the ease of excavation at the coal face. As a consequence, ferries in the vicinity of mines such as those on the Rivers Forth, Tay and Clyde, were faced with increasing demands for their services. As industry bourgeoned in different parts of Scotland other ferries were affected by developments in their respective locality. For example, bleachfields were established north of Perth at Stanley by the River Tay, new lime kilns were built by the River Forth,⁹ and trees from the Spey and Dee-side forests were felled in increasing numbers. Thus ferry services operating on all these rivers responded to the increase in marketable products and to the greater number of people in their locality who were attracted by the prospect of employment. Furthermore, from the 1750s, ferries benefited from the better use of land through improved agricultural methods and the introduction of new crops which, in turn, encouraged the growth of cottage industries. The expansion of the textile industries, cotton, jute and linen, encouraged the increased cultivation of flax and lint thus improving the prosperity of the area towards which

local ferries made their contribution.

If they were to survive, ferry services also had to accommodate changes in forms of transport as the needs and demands of society became more complex and sophisticated. Prior to the seventeenth century, the usual ferry cargo consisted of passengers with their goods and chattels, saddle horses and pack horses. Ferries were seldom, if ever, required to transport the sledges or slipes commonly employed to carry heavy loads such as hay or manure and which were dragged by oxen or small horses.¹⁰ Wheeled vehicles came into more general use during the eighteenth century as more and better roads were constructed in some areas. In addition, statements by influential commentators encouraged a greater use of carts for agricultural purposes. For example, Walker noted that the cost of the transport of "natural manure" and "kelp" could be minimised and the number of horses and servants retained by a farmer thus reduced.¹¹ Sinclair even recommended that "every man servant shall have a cart, plough and a set of harrows for each pair of horses...",¹² thus envisaging a great increase in the number of carts employed for agricultural purposes. In the nineteenth century, carts of different shapes and sizes became universally employed to transport all manner of goods. Other types of vehicle, too, became common-place; two and four wheeled chaises, carriages drawn by two or four horses and larger, heavier coaches.¹³ Although, by the early nineteenth century horse-drawn wheeled vehicles had a monopoly of the overland transportation of goods

and people, the state of ferries, roads and bridges still did not match such a proliferation of traffic. Moreover, poor facilities at ferries prevented the easy transference of vehicles across passages of water. Lack of or inadequate quays, lack of loading and unloading machinery, poor and inadequate boats and poor management of ferrymen were all factors which contributed to delay and inconvenience for passengers and led to dissatisfaction and protest. Ferries attracting particular attention were those located in nodal positions which linked different sections of national communication routes such as those at Lampits on the River Clyde, at Renfrew and Erskine on the Clyde estuary, the Queensferry Passage on the Forth estuary, Fochabers on the River Spey, Kessock on the Moray Firth and the Meikle ferry on the Cromarty Firth.

Ferry boats, according to the legal right of ferry, were constrained to provide a service for any members of the public who wished to make use of them. However, travelling, prior to the eighteenth century, was mainly the prerogative of those of high social status who could sustain the financial expense involved, those invested with authority and people pursuing a particular activity, personal, social, religious or commercial. Poor overland routes made conveyance by boat the most convenient and commonly used mode of transport. Therefore, it was not surprising that the use of ferry boats across the Forth and Tay estuaries was an established practice of the early Scottish Kings. David I and his successors frequently sailed across the

Queensferry Passage in journeying to and from Dunfermline,¹⁴ where the court stayed at that time. Ferries on the Forth and Tay estuaries transported the royal entourage during peregrinations in the shires of Edinburgh and Fife. The final establishment of the seat of government at Edinburgh in the fifteenth century made ferry and road connections even more important, as effective control by the Crown depended greatly on the speed and ease of communication. In the sixteenth century, the court visited different parts of Scotland thus more attention was drawn to the existing deficiencies in national routes of communication. In 1562 and 1568 Mary, Queen of Scots, made a number of journeys throughout Scotland and in so doing used the ferry on the Queensferry Passage on several occasions.¹⁵ James VI too, followed a similar itinerary when he visited his Scottish subjects in 1617.¹⁶ However, ferries were not always used for purely peaceful purposes and as they often controlled strategic points on important lines of communication, they were vulnerable to the power wielded by the strongest force. In the 1650s for example, Cromwell, anxious to facilitate his advance into the heart of Scotland, compelled the ferrymen on the Forth estuary ferries to carry his troops to muster on the north side of the Forth prior to the battle of Inverkeithing in 1651.¹⁷ Ferries on the River Spey and the Moray and Cromarty Firths were similarly commandeered by government troops during the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite uprisings in order to try to control the movement of the rebel forces in these areas.¹⁸

In spite of the intermittent military use of ferries, ferry services, according to the rights of ferry, were intended to be at the disposal of citizens going peacefully about their business although from time to time it was illegal business which was facilitated through the co-operation of ferrymen. It was not unknown for stolen goods to be transported at night by ferry boat¹⁹ in order to be successfully hidden and whisky was not infrequently smuggled by way of a ferry to avoid detection by excisemen.²⁰ At the same time, ferries were in constant use by those holding public office; dignitaries of the church, the law and the state found the provision of ferries an indispensable element in carrying out their duties effectively in different parts of the country. When the Post Office was inaugurated the co-operation of ferry services was an essential factor in its development. The necessary degree of reliability concerning ferry services was not always to be found. The ferry at Fochabers on the River Spey which carried the "post boy" and his mail,²¹ although contracted by the Post Office to provide a service irrespective of adverse conditions, was nevertheless frequently delayed, thus putting in jeopardy the reliability of the postal service to Inverness and the north of Scotland. The delivery of mail in remote districts involved ferries like those at Bonawe, Shian, Creagan and Ballachulish equally with those located in highly populated areas such as North and South Queensferry and Burntisland. Ferries served local farmers and their men as they made their way to and from markets. For

example, the ferry at Kincarrathie was one of several plying across the Tay which took farmers twice a week from areas north of the river to Perth market.²² Further north, the Kessock and Meikle ferries conveyed farmers and their men from Ross and Cromarty across the Moray and Cromarty Firths to the sheep markets at Inverness.²³

In the early nineteenth century many ferries in Scotland saw an expansion in traffic due to a growth in population and therefore there were more passengers available to be transported. The population in Scotland showed an increase of 30% between 1801 and 1821²⁴ which provided the labour force necessary to undertake the new forms of work arising in expanding villages, new towns and developing cities. Ferries situated on local routes between country and town, such as those on the River Tay at Dunkeld, Caputh, Kinclaven and Waulkmill, increased their trade as people moved from the country areas round these ferry locations to Perth and other urban centres. This growth in population coincided with an unprecedented expansion in industry and trade which, in turn, created innumerable opportunities for employment. Country people, attracted to new jobs in the textile and other developing industries, emigrated from farms and rural communities to towns and cities. Even in agricultural areas more people were employed to implement the new methods of land and animal management. Regular fairs held twice yearly in market towns were established to allow employers to select their workers.²⁵ These new social patterns resulted in greater mobility so that there was more

movement from place to place by all levels of society than ever before.

Fresh opportunities for ferries to carry more people and goods arose in the early nineteenth century through the employment of steam-powered ferry boats. For some ferry proprietors this was a prosperous period but money and profit had featured in the new development of ferry services in Scotland since the reign of David I when the king granted rights of ferry and the dues earned in consequence to favoured subjects in return for their allegiance to the crown. These included churchmen who benefited financially from such grants as they were the recipients of ferry rights bestowed by both kings²⁶ and noblemen²⁷ who wished to ensure their spiritual salvation. The monies earned by the ferry service or through the payment of the ferry rent were paid to ferry proprietors. However, throughout the years, the development of ferry services was dependant on investment and, as profit margins were invariably low, investors were not easily found. Wealth, originally concentrated in the hands of the Crown, ecclesiastical institutions and landowners, was gradually disseminated with the development of burghs and the emergence of burgesses and merchants in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the late seventeenth century, ferries at Renfrew, Erskine and other locations on the River Clyde began to carry a weight of traffic which reflected the changes taking place in the Clyde estuary with regard to overseas trade. In 1674, the

arrival of the first tobacco-carrying ship from Virginia, although in breach of the English Navigation Acts, marked a new era in Scottish trade which was bolstered by the removal of legal restrictions after the Union in 1707 concerning trade with North America.²⁸ A result of the expansion of the import and export trading that followed during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was an increase in the amount of money circulating and the increasing availability of cash. The number of Scottish banks multiplied and loans were more readily obtainable.²⁹ Consequently, not only did investments accelerate but the possession of money became more widespread. Government grants and loans were made to promote developments in trade, industry and commerce and communication. Wealthy individuals, too, subscribed to various projects, often for the common good but also to receive an acceptable rate of interest. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ferries, roads and bridges were frequently improved through such subscriptions but the tolls collected at appropriate points assured the subscribers of some return for their investment. Payment of fares by ferry users was an essential factor in determining the financial viability of a ferry and it also influenced decisions relating to improvements or developments at that ferry. From time to time ferrymen, who collected the fares and according to whose volition the ferry services operated at all, exercised their power by exploiting the passengers they transported. They charged higher rates for carriage across a passage than those officially imposed. These indiscretions took place

at different periods and at different ferry locations; for example, in 1651, ferrymen at Burntisland were found guilty of "exhorting double price of passage accustomed";³⁰ in 1730, the ferrymen at Perth were charged with demanding "exhorbitant fraughts for some years goneby"³¹ and in 1765, the ferryman at the ferry of Suiddal on the river Conon was accused of "the appearance of extortion".³²

The charge of excessive rates and the confiscation of ready money did not only apply to ferrymen but was also a failing of ferry proprietors. Therefore, money which could have been used to improve ferry services was unnecessarily restricted. Similarly, money intended for the improvement of the road network in Scotland, particularly in Highland areas, was not infrequently misappropriated by landowners and proprietors. Such misappropriation of these monies occurred because of loopholes in the Statute of Labour Act in 1669 and also in the subsequent Act, passed much later in 1790, and designed, ineffectively as it transpired, to remedy the situation. The Statute of Labour Act was intended to legislate for the maintenance of ferries, roads and bridges throughout Scotland and decreed that the necessary labour must be supplied by tenants, cottars and servants, with their horses, during June and July each year.³³ Compulsory service of this kind was undertaken with reluctance and for the most part the regulations stipulated in the act were ignored and there was little or no supervision to ensure that this legislation was implemented. Consequently, ferries, roads and bridges were poorly maintained in spite of some

spasmodic work done by troops, road surfaces in particular disintegrated to a degree that demanded effective action by the end of the eighteenth century. In 1790, therefore, a levy was made upon heritors and feuars of a sum not exceeding £25 Sterling upon each £100 Sterling valued rent in place of the provision of statute labour. Three-quarters of this sum was reclaimable by landowners from their tenants. Landowners were deputed to subscribe this 'stent' money themselves and also to collect it from their tenants.³⁴

However, the money collected by landowners was seldom spent by them on improving ferries, roads and bridges which therefore remained in a state of neglect until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In particular, the state of boats and the conditions of landing places at ferries had greatly deteriorated. By then town and burgh councils had realised the value of providing better ferries, roads and bridges without which developments in trade and industry were inhibited. These councils began to allocate funds, drawn from their new wealth, to this end. Local committees of Justices of the Peace, formerly authorised by the 1669 Act³⁵ to administer ferries, roads and bridges in their own area, were amalgamated with Commissioners of Supply committees in 1686.³⁶ The conjoined committees became responsible for the supervision of local ferries, roads and bridges but remained relatively passive until the end of the eighteenth century when the revolution in agriculture and in industry took off and when the establishing of good routes of communication became crucial. Membership of

these committees, by appointment, comprised local landowners and influential citizens, many of whom had a vested interest in developments in their own area. Road Trustee committees, also with some jurisdiction over ferries, were formed when turnpike roads, first introduced in Midlothian, 1713,³⁷ became more numerous in the 1770s³⁸ and these Committees, too, were empowered to allocate money to the maintenance and improvement of ferries. In addition, the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates, appointed in 1755 to secure peace in the Highlands, supported improvements in the Highland system of communication through the allocation of grants for the development of ferries, roads, bridges and inns.³⁹ Therefore, by the early nineteenth century, sources of finance available for the improvement of communications in Scotland were controlled by central government through locally appointed committees and national commissions and by local government through town and burgh councils. In addition, money was raised by subscription from wealthy individuals. Yet, in the need for financial viability within the administration of ferry, road and bridges improvement, danger lay in the authorisation of unrealistically large loans to meet the cost of proposed improvements. Available local revenue from ferry, road and bridge tolls, limited by weight of traffic, sometimes did not justify the debt incurred, nor indeed the expenditure involved.

Until the rapid commercial and industrial expansion in mid-eighteenth century Scotland, the state of ferries, roads and bridges was judged mainly from a military standpoint and new

military roads had been constructed by Wade and Caulfield between 1726 and 1767 to facilitate the movement of troops.⁴⁰ New roads were constructed but for the most part they consisted of extended tracks which were soon eroded by climatic conditions and neglect and which contributed little to the promotion of economic growth. Wade built forty bridges but few of these replaced ferries as they were mostly erected over narrow fordable passages of water. Military interest in the communication network subsided as peaceful conditions were established after 1745 and although General Mackay, Commander-in-Chief of forces in Scotland in 1784, reported that Highland roads "are in general very bad indeed",⁴¹ little or no action was taken to remedy this. Increasingly, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the state of ferries and roads, together with the lack of bridges, were identified as issues demanding immediate attention, particularly in peripheral areas where easier access was becoming more important economically, politically and socially. Strong claims were made that "an entire stop (was being made) to any Communication betwixt the Highlands and the Southern parts of the Kingdom" and that there must be a "mutual advantage by which every part of a Country derives from a Safe and Sufficient Communication between the centre and the extremities of it or on the Loss which the whole Community must feel from a check on the rising and progress in improvements of any Class of its Inhabitants".⁴²

The pattern and direction of regional communication systems related directly to the extent to which urbanisation and commercial

and economic enterprise accelerated.

Comments by travellers served to verify the poor state of the ferries in some areas thus highlighting the uneven distribution of improvements. The central belt, however, in the vanguard of industrial modernisation, seemed to be served by relatively good roads by the nineteenth century. In 1773, Dr. Johnson praised the roads in Fife stating that "The roads are neither rough nor dirty".⁴³ It was this discrepancy in standards that prompted the Highland Society to solicit a report elucidating the overall position. As a result of this report the Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges was established in 1803 and Thomas Telford was assigned the formidable task of submitting surveys and estimates concerning the work necessary to up-date the communication system in Scotland.⁴⁴ This government initiative, supported by a guarantee to meet half the total cost of any estimate, did not eliminate the responsibility for local fund-raising but it did result in more effective supervision of projects and thereby established new standards of achievement. As part of the scheme, proposals for the erection of bridges on a large scale came under close scrutiny and arguments in favour of bridge building multiplied. This issue had always been open to debate as travellers were sensible to the difficulties and dangers encountered when crossing water by other means, especially by ferry. Even as early as 1491, there were complaints regarding "the want of a bridge" at Clydesholm on the River Clyde, as many people "were often imperilled and perished"⁴⁵

as they crossed by ferry boat. From that period, bridges were built at nodal points but the undertaking was haphazard, with little formal direction other than local perseverance supported by local wealth and labour. In many cases, lack of technical knowledge and scarcity of suitable building materials prevented bridge building but by the end of the eighteenth century, this position had been reversed.

Nevertheless, vociferous argument and intensive effort were often necessary to promote the completion of a bridge. It was suggested that the advantages of building bridges to replace ferries would include "enlivening industry and trade and raising the value of contiguous lands," facilitating "the sending of Black Cattle and Sheep ... to markets"⁴⁶ and would contribute to greater speed and ease of travel. In the early nineteenth century, the extensive road, bridge and canal building programme was undertaken by Telford and resulted in many benefits although inevitably numerous ferry services were adversely affected.

In early nineteenth century Scotland, the development of steam-powered engines revolutionised the principles concerning the basis of industry and commerce and caused the fabric of every-day life to undergo rapid change. The employment of steam-driven boats on appropriate water-ways promoted economic growth and exposed peripheral regions such as the Western and Northern Islands and the remote areas bordering western sea lochs to unprecedented innovation and change. Not only had interchange between the centre and the periphery of the country

become possible, it could be undertaken with speed. For example, in 1813, the time taken to travel from Glasgow to Greenock on the Clyde estuary could be as long as three days, whereas by the 1840s a steamer completed the same journey in two-and-a-quarter hours.⁴⁷ Ferry steamers, which were larger and sturdier boats than the sail-propelled pinnaces and yawls, had a greater capacity for cargo and were designed to carry more passengers. As a result, the income derived from steam-powered ferry boats increased and this allowed reduced fares to be charged which, in turn, attracted a greater number of passengers. In 1813, the journey from Glasgow to Gourock cost £7-14/- for a man and his family, whereas in 1840 each passenger was only charged 1/- for the same distance.⁴⁸ In addition, although steam-driven ferry boats cost more to purchase and to maintain, it was possible to administer a satisfactory service by employing two or three steamers instead of the previous forty or fifty sailing boats.⁴⁹ The contraction in the number of ferry boats also reduced the complement of ferrymen employed, thereby minimising the overall expenditure and making the service more economic. Furthermore, the management of the service was facilitated as supervision could be concentrated on fewer boats manned by smaller crews who were required to possess more specific skills and whose duties were more clearly defined. Indeed, in at least one case, the advantages of employing a steam-driven ferry boat on a water passage of national importance were perceived to outweigh those ensuing from the building of a bridge at that crossing.⁵⁰ Certain modifications and extensions to ferry quays and landing

places incurred additional expense for the accommodation of steam-powered ferry boats but this expense was viewed as expedient and essential because "the Improvement of the passages (of water) is an object of the highest consequence" for "affording a most complete facility and accommodation to the lieges".⁵¹

A number of questions arise regarding the nature and function of ferry services in connection with their development between 1603 and the advent of steam. Ferry services, always susceptible to external pressures, nevertheless faced internal dilemmas specific to their unique operation. In this context, three main areas of enquiry emerge; firstly, the physical and practical elements inherent in the provision of a ferry service; secondly, methods of management and administration of ferry services and finally, the financial transactions undertaken in promoting a financially viable ferry service.

This summary of the changes and innovations confronting ferry services in Scotland, together with the brief outline of economic and social change taking place between the Union of the Crowns and the advent of steam in the preceding pages indicates the crucial nature of some of the problems inherent in establishing the national communication system. The state of any communication network can either inhibit or facilitate the pattern of industrial and social progress and the viability of internal communication can depend as much on vital ferry services as on roads and bridges. The following

chapters trace the development of ferries in Scotland and attempt to identify the changes which took place in ferry services between 1603 and the advent of steam. Illustrations are drawn from ferry services operating in Scotland during that period.

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The Highland Ferryman

CHAPTER THREE

RIVER FERRIES

River ferries in Scotland provided an essential link in local and regional communication networks. The following discussion will examine how these ferries responded to the changing demands of different areas between 1603 and the advent of steam. The terrain of Scotland, fashioned by glacial erosion and deposition, was striated by large rivers in fertile valleys with agricultural potential, mainly flowing from central sources to outlets on the eastern seaboard. Although these rivers, many fast-flowing, tree-lined and rock-strewn, exerted an important influence on the choice of locations selected for early settlement,¹ they were frequently lacking in easy crossing points. In addition, seasonal spates, and sometimes floods, resulted in such accumulation of water that the possibility of crossing was restricted. Flooding was a common characteristic of such rivers as the Clyde² and the Tweed³ consequently making crossing hazardous and unreliable in these conditions. Similar difficulties in crossing were experienced for different reasons concerning the turbulent rivers situated north of the central belt of Scotland which included the Tay⁴ and Garry⁵ and further north the Dee,⁶ the Spey,⁷ the Findhorn,⁸ the Nairn⁹ and the Beauly.¹⁰ Settlers required to cross these rivers in order to extend their property, establish their hunting grounds and sometimes to raid other settlements. At the same time, for purposes of security, the defence of these

river crossings was crucial and depended mainly upon the ease or difficulty with which a crossing could be effected. Factors such as width, depth and force of water influenced the prevailing mode of transport on any particular crossing and these ranged from fording,¹¹ wading, the use of stilts,¹² being carried by another person¹³ or by horse, to being ferried by the use of different types of boat.

Prior to 1603, transport by water was the easiest and cheapest form of carriage. The use of river crossings in the hinterland of Scotland not only shortened journeys but, whatever the problems experienced, did facilitate the passage of people and goods, albeit of limited bulk, weight and number. The siting of ferry crossings was determined by the centralisation of common need arising from a number of sources to effect a crossing. Dunkeld, for example, was not only a 'frontier' town serving as a link between the Highlands and the Lowlands through providing trading, commercial and social opportunities but it was also a market centre for local agricultural produce.¹⁴ Furthermore, it held a key strategic position in any military conflict, as a number of commanders confirmed by choosing to garrison their troops there.¹⁵ Consequently, it is not surprising to find three well established ferries crossing the Tay at Dunkeld, viz. the Inver ferry, the East ferry and the West ferry.¹⁶ The Tay, in common with most of the rivers listed, runs its course through some of the "best lands" in Scotland.¹⁷ Thus, agriculture became the predominating activity in the vicinity of these rivers. Trade, arising from agriculture in

these areas, may have been small-scale and local, but farmers needed to have their produce transported to centres for marketing purposes. It is at crossings connected with these centres that river ferries are to be found.

The natural dearth of large rivers in the west of Scotland, with the exception of the Clyde and perhaps the Irvine in Ayrshire, explains the lack of ferries in that part of the country but in the Border region, too, there were not as many ferries as might have been expected. The Rivers Tweed and Teviot are long and sometimes wide but at points where they intersect natural land routes the depth of water is often fordable, particularly on horseback. The Border region remained relatively isolated by virtue of non-existent or inadequate roads until the eighteenth century,¹⁸ the main communication and trading route following the coastline through Berwick to Edinburgh. The demand for ferries in the Borders was therefore confined to local use and, as the land bordering the Tweed and the Teviot was at best "medium land" and, for the most part, "harsh land",¹⁹ there was limited agricultural activity so there was little demand for the transportation of agricultural produce by ferry. Moreover, the population in the Border area was sparse,²⁰ at least until the eighteenth century, and with little need to move from one place to another the volume of traffic was small. Consequently, prior to the eighteenth century, the needs of local inhabitants were adequately met by the existing ferries. In other areas of Scotland also local ferries were sufficiently numerous and

well enough served at that time to meet the demands made upon them. However, by the eighteenth century, river ferries faced the problem of adapting to the changes taking place in agriculture, industry and commerce if the new opportunities for development were to be grasped.

Between the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Scottish economy gradually changed from a mercantile to a capitalist system.²¹ A major factor in this movement was the advance of agricultural practice. The resulting improvement in social and economic conditions in rural districts, together with the steady increase in population, created further demand for goods which, in turn, initiated greater cash flow and higher profits making more money available for reinvestment. A hitherto unknown market for consumer goods in rural areas developed as cottage industries prospered and a greater production of flax, wool and other commodities was stimulated.²²

The efficient transportation of goods ranks high in the criteria for successful business practice but in early eighteenth century Scotland there were major difficulties in accomplishing this due to lack of roads, poor surfaces on existing roads, few bridges and inadequate river ferries. Motivation to effect improvement in the national communication network came from a number of sources, not least the impetus to open up the hinterland to make more rural areas more accessible for economic and trading purposes. In the past, inaccessible areas particularly in the

Highlands, had been protected because control and subservience were inherent in a feudal system of landowning but landowners in the eighteenth century were becoming increasingly aware of the benefits of improving the value of their estates and the provision of easier access was a major factor in initiating such a prospect.²³ Landowners also benefited from the revenue forthcoming from the tolls which were exacted on turnpike roads and these proprietors were therefore open to persuasion to make contributions towards road construction.²⁴ General Wade²⁵ initiated a systematic communication pattern in north Scotland but the maintenance of all existing roads and bridges was essential and in order to try to achieve this the 1669 Statute of Labour Act²⁶ was invoked, in most cases with little success. The reluctance of local workers and the paucity of local funds made it clear by the end of the eighteenth century, that direct government investment would be needed if the communication system was to be maintained. River ferries were an integral part of the national communication system but because they could continue to function even at an inadequate level, their upkeep commanded less attention than that paid to the state of roads and bridges.²⁷

Until the end of the eighteenth century government involvement with river ferries was minimal. Most river ferries were owned by landowners whose land bordered the river passages and no authoritative interference was required as long as these proprietors apparently responded to the regulations laid down

by the local Commissioners of Supply and Justices of the Peace committees according to their statutory control over such matters. As landowners comprised the majority of the membership of both these appointed bodies²⁸ it was not difficult for self interest to be protected. However, as the amount of traffic increased it is fair to say that consultation between neighbouring committees did take place when any increase in ferry rates was proposed so that some standardisation could be established.²⁹ The margin of profit was carefully safeguarded by these committees and from a busy late eighteenth century river ferry this would have been reasonable.

Proprietors of river ferries benefited financially from several sources of income directly linked to the operation of ferrying at these locations. In addition to the income derived from the freight of passengers and goods, the proprietor obtained the rent of the licence to ferry from either the tacksman or the boatman³⁰ and, furthermore, in keeping with the expansion of the postal system at that time, the regular transport of mail drew a fee from the Post Office.³¹ In order to further their income a number of ferry boat proprietors invested capital in making additions to their existing fleet of boats or by purchasing a new type of boat. Until the late eighteenth century, river ferry boats consisted of large, open wooden boats rowed, or occasionally sailed, by often by two boatmen. These boats varied in size and were commonly known as "muckle", "hafflin" and "middlin'", with cobbles being the

smallest boat in use. The new technology of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was applied to the improvement of a few river ferry boats: for example, James Fraser of Dowally, near Pitlochry, designed a pontoon-type boat which was propelled by the device of a chain.³²

In other areas, the improvements undertaken by proprietors and through the legislation passed by local Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply Committees proved insufficient to counter the problems of delay and inconvenience which multiplied as the volume of traffic increased at river ferry crossings in the early nineteenth century. Neither the government nor individual investors perceived any financial advantage in contributing to the maintenance, much less the development, of river ferry services.³³ At the same time, investors could be found for the new bridge building programmes³⁴ resulting from the progress in modern engineering technology. Profits for investors were assured by the toll charges exacted on bridges. Committees responsible for crossings over the River Clyde in Lanarkshire set a precedent by constructing three bridges at important crossings in the space of nine years, viz. at Robertson in 1769, at Hyndford in 1773 and at Thankerton in 1778, thus dispensing with ferries at these locations.³⁵ The setting up of the Commissions for Highland Roads, Bridges and Ferries in 1803³⁶ led to the building of 1,117 bridges in the Highlands including those over the Tay, Dee, Spey, Beauly and Conon, replacing ferries

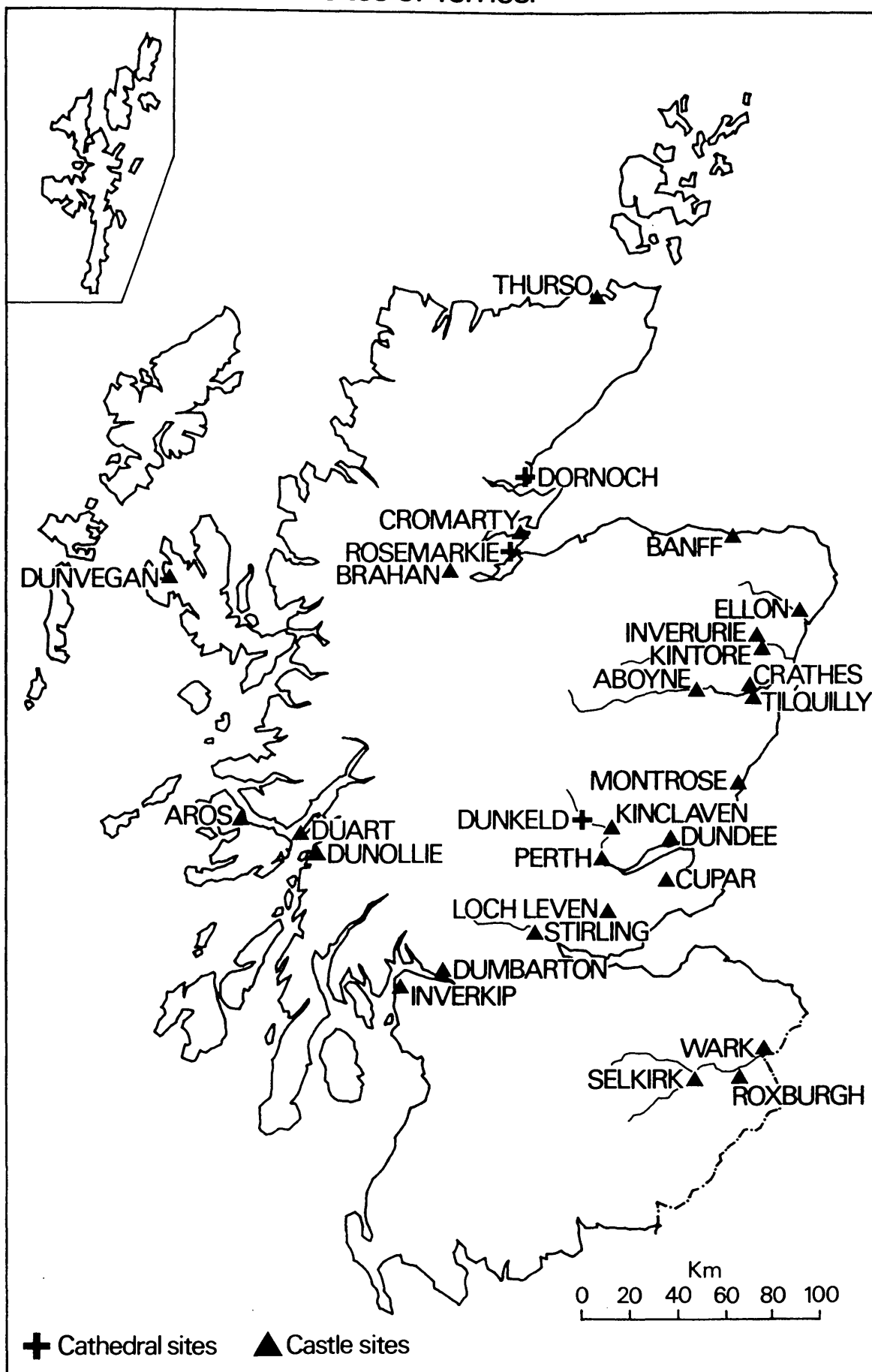
on these rivers.³⁷ In the nineteenth century, in contrast to the development of estuary ferries, many river ferries became anachronisms. Even the introduction of steam powered boats at some river crossings could not compete successfully with the building of bridges. The argument for saving of time and money, together with the incomparable ease of crossing a bridge was weighted in favour of bridge building and inevitably many river ferries were replaced by bridges. Nevertheless, at some locations there was little demand for speedy crossings or the transport of large numbers of people or goods and consequently it was financially more acceptable to continue to provide a ferry service than it would have been to spend a large sum of money on replacing it with a bridge. In these areas ambivalence was expressed in the arguments concerning the financial advantages and public benefit to be obtained in substituting bridges for river ferry services.

In order to obtain a clear perspective concerning the contribution made by river ferries to the national communication network of Scotland between 1603 and the advent of steam, it is necessary to examine major factors relating to the history and development of different ferry services in the context of their locality and region. Rights of ferry being 'inter regalia', the influence of early Scottish Kings on the establishing of river ferries must be considered. The dependence of early Scottish Kings on their clergy for assurance of spiritual well-being allowed ecclesiastical institutions to benefit materially from the royal gifts bestowed upon them. The lands and properties

endowed by the monarch were thereafter controlled by the appropriate bishop, abbot or prior.³⁸ By the end of the thirteenth century, a pattern of ecclesiastical organisation was well established, particularly within the dioceses of Glasgow, St. Andrews, Dunblane and Dunkeld,³⁹ subjecting the inhabitants of these areas not only to a spiritual but also to a temporal influence. Like the king, local noblemen, too, attempted to ensure spiritual well-being through the patronage of their parish church including various endowments and perquisites. Therefore, by the fourteenth century, the triumvirate of monarch, clergy and noblemen held the rights of land and property which included the rights of river ferries, although of course the possession of these rights was not equally distributed. All three groups were represented in the claim to ferry rights at the ferry of Clydesholm on the Clyde when, in 1491, Sir Stephen Lockhart of Cleghorn requested James IV to grant the right of ferry there to the chaplain of the altar of St. Katherine in the chapel of St. Nicholas in the burgh of Lanark. The king readily agreed on the grounds that he owed Sir Stephen "a singular favour",⁴⁰ although it is not clear what Sir Stephen gained from the transaction, apart from spiritual solace. Changes took place which diminished the need for ferry rights to be granted as royal favours. Whereas, at first, royal interest was a significant factor in the development of ferries, in the early middle ages, less attention was paid to all but those ferries in key positions.

Ecclesiastical institutions continued to retain possession

Castles and Cathedrals, established by the 14th century, found to be near the sites of ferries.



FOOT NOTE : Although the date of origin of some ferries could not be traced, the probability of a link between a ferry and the adjacent castle or cathedral cannot be ruled out.

of river ferry rights in such places as Dunkeld where much land was owned by the bishopric and great authority was wielded by the bishops. There seems little doubt that possession of the rights of the three ferries plying the Tay at Dunkeld was held by successive bishops, particularly in view of the consistent but unsuccessful attempts made by the bishops holding office between 1461 and 1561 to build a bridge across the Tay which would have replaced these ferries.⁴¹

Furthermore, it is clear that the possession of the rights of ferry at Caputh, lower down on the Tay, also lay with the bishops of Dunkeld.⁴²

In addition, the rights of ferry at Kinclaven, at the confluence of the Tay and the Isla, belonged to the bishops of Dunkeld as money was paid on a regular basis by them to the boatmen there.⁴³ Vestiges of this form of the possession of rights of river ferries are to be found until the early nineteenth century. In the Old Statistical Account, the writer describing the parish of Crailing, in Roxburghshire, explains that the heritors of the ferry crossing the Teviot there, Hunter of Crailing and the Marquis of Lothian, were bound by the church at Crailing "to uphold a boat and pay a boatman".⁴⁴

In the nineteenth century, too, the rights of the ferry on the River Isla at Coupar-Grange "was long the property of the kirk session, as session records abundantly prove".⁴⁵ However, these examples are exceptional as, more commonly, changes within ecclesiastical institutions, culminating in the Reformation in the sixteenth century, initiated the relinquishing of land and property, including the possession of rights of river ferries, at a much earlier date.



Changes in land ownership were also strongly influenced by the acquisition of power by noblemen as a result of the minority rule of a number of Scottish kings⁴⁶ until 1585 when James VI began to directly control policy.⁴⁷ Indeed, some of the most influential lords obtained heritable grants of regality which entitled them to claim equal rights with the king over their estates. Consequently, the effect of change within two such powerful factions as the clergy and the landowners was the movement of land and property from one owner to another. Moreover, the commercial value of land could be used to meet debts, obtain marriage contracts, bribe antagonists and so on. The possession of land was a mark of wealth, power and status and when rights of ferry were included in an estate, that could only enhance the value of the property in providing additional strategic, economic and social elements. Therefore, it is not surprising to find many river ferry rights held by large landowners. For example, by 1553, Sir John Cunningham had acquired Clydesholm ferry from the chaplain of the altar of St. Katherine⁴⁸ and in 1564, the earl of Mar was granted "the passage on the River Dee by boat at Castelltoun in the Brae of Mar".⁴⁹ Later, in 1653, Sir John Moncrieffe of that ilk inherited "the passage upon the Watter of Earns callit the Ferrie" which passes from Easter Rynd at the mouth of the Earn to Carpow on the opposite bank⁵⁰ and, in 1658, Andrew, Lord Fraser held "the town and lands of Wester Duries and the ferryboat thereof ... in the water of Dee," a reference to Durris in Aberdeenshire.⁵¹ The geographical span of these examples verifies the generally high status of owners of river ferry rights being in Scotland at that period. In the eighteenth

century, little change took place, with many river ferry rights being held by landowners such as the earl of Errol, the duke of Atholl, the duke of Gordon, Sir George Macpherson Grant of Ballindalloch and Mr. Grant of Redcastle respectively for ferries at Ellon on the Ythan,⁵² at Logierait on the Tay,⁵³ at Boat of Bog⁵⁴ on the Spey, at Black's Boat on the Spey⁵⁵ and at Kilmuir on the Beauly River.⁵⁶ Rights of ferry, incorporated in heritable property, stood alongside rights of fishing and milling and were on a similar basis to the right to hold a fair.⁵⁷ All these rural activities provided a financial income for the landowner, not only by way of rent but through fringe benefits derived from the subsequent commercial enterprises.

There were few exceptions to the near monopoly established by landowners in holding rights of river ferries. Burgh or town councils, possible alternative proprietors, were either unable to acquire these rights or failed to perceive any advantage in attempting to do so, especially if it might involve antagonising a local landowner whose goodwill would be preferable to the rights of ferry owned by him. Furthermore, by virtue of their location, frequently in the neighbourhood of villages rather than towns, river ferries were likely to be of less interest to town and burgh councils than to the landed gentry on whose lands they were situated. Nevertheless, ferries on the Clyde in the vicinity of Lanark did attract the attention of the town council which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, acquired the rights of many of them including those at Clydesholm, Thankerton and Crook-boat.⁵⁹ Lanark, a Royal Burgh by the twelfth century,⁵⁹

was a nodal point of routes between Ayr and Edinburgh, between Peebles and Lanark and between Dumfries and Edinburgh, all important highways. The number of ferry crossings on the Clyde, no less than five in the short distance between Hyndford and Tillieford,⁶⁰ and all in use until 1772,⁶¹ prompted surveillance by the bailies and magistrates of Lanark whose interests were served by the exercise of some control at these points. This could best be achieved when the rights of these river ferries passed into their hands. Such control was also awarded to the magistrates and bailies of Annan, in 1629, in response to their complaint that eight burgesses were preventing the effective functioning of the ferry boat across the Water of Annan. The magistrates' claim that this obstruction by these burgesses not only resulted in hardship for prospective travellers moving "between England and Ireland and Scotland" but it also deprived the burgh of a source of revenue. The claim was upheld and the burgh council was therefore awarded the rights of ferry on the Water of Annan.⁶²

There was the possibility of the sale of rights of ferry to farmers or tenants in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when agricultural communities began to enjoy greater prosperity and when similar sales concerning milling and fishing rights were made. Nonetheless, the available evidence suggests that few availed themselves of such opportunities perhaps because the purchase and maintenance of boats, together with the upkeep of landing places and access roads would have proved a greater financial burden than the payment of a rent, especially in the realisation that there would be little increase in the financial

return if improvements were carried out. In 1809, however, Archibald Martin, a tenant farmer, purchased the land, ferry and fishings of Crossford, near Lanark on the River Clyde and immediately found himself required to erect "proper landing places and to provide a suitable boat and to be ready at all times for use of the public". Although Martin had to pay a "comparatively high price for the exclusive rights of the ferry" his original outlay and additional expenses did not prove to be excessive and his perspicacity did not go unrewarded when he was able to transport a weekly average of 188 passengers, each paying 1d, to realise a regular income of 15/8d.⁶³ Therefore, the monetary return from each river ferry had to be considered in terms of the sources available for establishing financial viability.

The financial viability of river ferries was a necessary adjunct to the service they rendered. It was frequently difficult to achieve this in rural areas where traffic was spasmodic and where only on market and fair days would it be realistic to expect an economic return from the freight carried. Nevertheless, river ferries, in the absence of a bridge, were indispensable to local communities in their need to have transport available when a crossing was required. As early as 1662 "the baillies and counsell" of Lanark "is content to give to the botteris at Thankerton boat to help to build the samin, ten merks Scots", and again in 1671 the same bailies donated "ten punds to make up ane neu boat at Cruik boat".⁶⁴ In the eighteenth century these Councillors continued to assume

responsibility for maintaining regular communication across the Clyde at the ferries where they were proprietors. They were prepared to assist ferrymen to meet expenses entailed through damage sustained by boats. The boats at Crossford appeared to be particularly vulnerable as the records show that on at least six occasions, between 1722 and 1753, awards ranging from £10 Scots to £18 Scots were made to successive ferrymen for the repair of boats in an attempt to ensure there was as little disruption as possible at that ferry.⁶⁵ In 1703, the Town Council of Irvine in Ayrshire adopted a similar attitude towards the employment of a boat "for ferreing over the water of Irving" when their treasurer was authorised to pay £12 Scots to "Adam Baird in Riccartoune" to act as ferryman⁶⁶ and again in 1722 the same sum was allocated to Thomas Wallace of Cairnhill "for a help to keep up the boats made use of for ferrying".⁶⁷ The great need to provide a reliable communication route for trade between east and west Scotland, and similarly to and from Ireland, was recognised by the magistrates and councillors of Irvine who, in subsidising a ferry boat to ply across the river Irvine, did their best to meet such a need, at least until a more permanent arrangement could be made. Nevertheless, in all parts of Scotland, grants made were not over-generous, especially as ferrymen, in meeting the unequivocal conditions contained in a tack to ferry, undertook to supply a boat suitable for that purpose. The size of boat varied according to the requirements of each ferry but in 1752, for example, the cost of a medium-sized boat was between £35 Scots⁶⁸

and £112 Scots⁶⁹ and the essential maintenance of such a boat by "beeting her yearly with pitch and ocum" required 8 pints of tar which cost 7d Scots per pint.⁷⁰ The price of a small boat was about £5. 15/- Scots.⁷¹

When it was necessary to employ a number of boats at a ferry in order to meet the demands of the traffic using it, then it was clear that the expense incurred was quite considerable. For example, at Kinclaven, on the confluence of the Isla and the Tay, three boats were in operation in the 1790s; one for foot passengers, one for horses and a third for carriages.⁷² From the middle of the eighteenth century, employment of different boats became essential at busy river ferry locations in order to meet the increasing volume of traffic and bulk of cargo and it was not uncommon to introduce several boats of varying sizes to convey vehicle traffic, goods and foot passengers respectively. Although delay inevitably resulted when horse-drawn vehicles had to be loaded and unloaded, the allocation of a special, usually small boat to provide a service only for foot passengers, facilitated crossings for travellers and local inhabitants. At Dunkeld, for example, four types of boat were employed ranging from a "muckle" boat, capable of carrying "five horses and half a score of cattle or a couple of scores of sheep at one time,"⁷³ to the smallest coble.⁷⁴ At Selkirk, too, on the Water of Ettrick, there was a "big boat" and a "little boat".⁷⁵ The cost of buying and maintaining such boats contributed to the expenditure necessary for the provision of a safe and convenient mode of transport across a river. The

difficulty of obtaining sufficient money for these purposes frequently resulted in river ferry services remaining inadequate and poorly maintained.

In the eighteenth century, the burden of the purchase and maintenance of river ferry boats usually fell on the ferrymen as they were required to fulfil the condition "to supply a good and sufficient boat" included in a contract for the tack of a ferry. The cost of the maintenance of ferry boats was not inconsiderable when compared with the income received. For example, in 1780, £1. 12. 0 was paid to 16 ferrymen at the ferry at Fochabers^{*} on the Spey on the occasion of the funeral of the dowager duchess of Gordon whereas in the same year £35. 3. 6 was charged by a carpenter for work done on the two large and two small ferry boats plying the same ferry.⁷⁶ This outlay by the ferrymen was in addition to the rent paid for the tack and to meeting particular requirements such as "regularly planting six trees," supplying a "barrel of salmon" and in providing free transport for the proprietor, his family and his servants.⁷⁷ In return, some ferrymen received the money paid for the transport of passengers and goods. Proprietors therefore assessed the income earned by ferrymen at each river ferry and then set the rent for each ferry tack at a figure which represented the maximum amount which could be obtained from the estimated income of each ferryman. Thus, rents for river ferry tacks varied in different areas of the country. In the early eighteenth century, the rent for the ferry at Caputh on the Tay was £4 Scots,⁷⁸ on the Water of

* See Bog, Boat of p.374.

Ettrick, near Selkirk, it was £6 Scots,⁷⁹ and at Ellon on the Ythan, it was as high as £9. 5/-d Scots.⁸⁰ These rents may have been linked with the volume of traffic transported at each ferry but it is possible that they also reflected the attitude of different proprietors towards obtaining income. Ferryman were also required to "keep up and maintain"⁸¹ the property usually included in the tack of a river ferry and in addition were expected to monitor the state of the river by erecting posts or stones, appropriately marked, to indicate the height of the water at different times and thus to establish when the river was in spate. Ferryman were permitted to take advantage of a spate, unless they decided that the crossing was too dangerous, as they were entitled to charge an additional half price for each fare if required to undertake a crossing when such conditions prevailed.⁸² Ferryman needed to augment their income at every opportunity as some proprietors successfully protected their own interests by inserting penalty clauses into contracts for tacks to ferry to take effect in the event of the failure of the ferryman to meet the agreed conditions. In 1749, the duke of Gordon ensured against default by James Burges and Barbara Stewart, ferriers at Fochabers,^{*} by stating that the sum of £33. 11. 0 sterling would be forfeited⁸³ and in 1791, Sir George Macpherson Grant of Ballindalloch stipulated that £42. 4. 0d. sterling, plus £5 sterling for each boat, be paid by Alexander Grant for failure to adhere to the stated conditions concerning the ferry tack at Boat of Insh at Kincaig on the River Spey.⁸⁴

Such penalty clauses were not universally applicable as

* See Bog, Boat of page 374.

ferryman at some river ferries continued to be paid in kind, even in the mid-eighteenth century. In 1759, the ferryman at Logierait on the Tay and those on the River Tummel were remunerated by a "certain fixt quantity", of oats, meal and bere.⁸⁵ At Dunkeld, too, ferryman received a dram of whisky or a sup of ale as adequate payment although regulations at that ferry did state that fares be charged in monetary terms.⁸⁶ The proprietor of the Dunkeld ferries, the duke of Atholl, purchased ferry boats and employed ferryman by paying them a wage. Consequently, the money that accrued from these ferry services was surrendered to the duke. This procedure was satisfactory from the duke's point of view as, in the 1790s, he enjoyed a substantial profit of £100 per year.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, such a system was open to abuse by the ferryman who could keep some or all of the money they received or charge higher rates for a crossing and then pocket the difference. Complaints regarding extortion by ferryman were not uncommon. In 1765, the ferryman at "the ferry of Suiddal", on the River Conon, was accused of charging 2/6d sterling to transport a chaise and a pair of horses. The complainant compared this crossing, on "a narrow boat not fit for chaises", with the Queensferry Passage, charging the same rate, where "the boats are so good" and it "is within seven miles of the Metropolis".⁸⁸ Ferryman plying boats infrequently and in isolated areas often made charges according to their individual whim as Thomas Thornton discovered when journeying in Scotland in 1786. Wishing to cross Loch Lomond he had to pay a ferryman 9/6d

although he had previously been charged only 5/- by a ferryman on Loch Tay to cover a similar distance.⁸⁹ Difficulties in implementing any form of supervision, either by proprietors or by the local authoritative bodies, permitted ferrymen at river ferries a degree of autonomy which was not possible, at least by the late eighteenth century, for their counterparts employed at estuary ferries. This autonomy could often be extended through the relationship established between ferrymen and passengers by the use of the ferry croft as an inn where food, drink and shelter were provided. Many river ferrymen conducted such a business for themselves although the standard of hospitality to be found was often minimal. Nevertheless, provision of this kind was welcomed by travellers and also by local inhabitants who, especially in more remote places, enjoyed the social benefits available. There were inns at many river ferry locations on the Rivers Dee,⁹⁰ Don,⁹¹ Spey⁹² and Tweed,⁹³ together with those at sites such as Kinclaven⁹⁴ and Inver on the Tay.⁹⁵

At busy river ferry locations competition for trade could occur when other boatmen offered alternative transport, often at a reduced charge. This intervention was naturally refuted by the legitimate ferrymen and proprietors who found it sufficiently difficult to try to defray their own expenses under normal circumstances. In many of these cases the competition arose from the escalation of the use of a boat already established for other purposes, such as fishing. In 1736, the ferrymen at Perth notified Perth Town Council that

passage boats were operating illegally by transporting large numbers of beasts and people, particularly on market days, between Kincarrathie and the North Inch, in the vicinity of Perth. The town Council reacted by demanding a rental for that passage from David Stuart, the proprietor. However, it was not until 1766 that the town Council finally legislated against the transportation of beasts at that passage,⁹⁶ an almost irrelevant course of action by that time as the decision to build the bridge at Perth had been agreed. Again, in 1758 and also in 1759, the ferrymen at Logierait and Boat of Tummel petitioned the duke of Atholl concerning Lord John Murray of nearby Pitnacree who, they claimed, had "erected ferry boats ... for ferrying over men, horses and carriages att a place where there was only a small cobble for ferying over men and bring cloath back...".⁹⁷ A solution to this problem was apparently found as no further reference was made to the dispute. In 1817, however, the Court of Session considered a petition from Archibald Martin regarding the encroachment of John Thomas on the right to ferry at Crossford on the Clyde and decreed that the right to ferry, legally held, was exclusive to the licensee, within certain stated bounds.⁹⁸

Such a legal pronouncement was in keeping with the growing desire apparent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to bring legal order to areas previously subject to anomalies and confusion.⁹⁹ River ferries were never administered through regular and orthodox control from central government because the different requirements of individual river ferry

proprietors dictated a need for flexibility which, in itself, precluded any concentrated effort to co-ordinate supervision. The legislation, including the 1669¹⁰⁰ and 1686¹⁰¹ Acts, made little impact on the state of river ferries until the early eighteenth century and even then these committees failed to act with much positive intent in most areas. However, during the first half of the eighteenth century, the Commissioners of Supply for Lanark were repeatedly petitioned by John Jack and John Clelland, successive ferrymen at the Crossford ferry on the Clyde near Lanark, for assistance in "rebuilding and repairing the ferrie boats". Their persistence resulted in a satisfactory outcome as the Commissioners finally allocated money to the repair of the ferry boats.¹⁰² These actions, recorded in the well-documented minutes of the Lanark Commissioners of Supply Committee, illustrate the possible work of such committees and confirm that support for ferry services was at least available at important river crossings. One area of legislation consistently undertaken by Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply relates to the regulation of ferry rates and although consideration regarding standardisation appeared to take place various rates were allocated in different areas for reasons that are not always clear. For example, in 1765, Justices of the Peace in Elgin reviewed the fares charged on ferries operating on the Tay at Perth and Dunkeld and on the South Esk at Montrose and found that the rates charged were the same at all these locations. The Committee then proposed new regulations for the conveyance of passengers and freight over the Spey at the Boat of

Bog or Fochabers. Subsequently, differences did occur between that table of regulations and those established at Perth, Dunkeld and Montrose, with charges at Fochabers being considerably higher for most items, the only exceptions being half price for a loaded two-wheeled cart, while the fare for an ox or cow, an empty two-wheeled cart and a "sea pack of goods" were exactly the same.¹⁰³ Although the ferry at Fochabers was a busy and important communication link the volume of traffic there was probably not as heavy in the mid-eighteenth century as that encountered at Perth, Dunkeld or Montrose, consequently a similar income could only be attained at Fochabers by exacting higher fares at that ferry. The only concession made to local inhabitants transporting goods from place to place was the cheaper cost for conveying loaded carts. At many river ferries no facilities were available for the transport of wheeled vehicles or indeed for the conveyance of more than one beast at a time. Fares of 1d. for a foot passenger and 4d. for a horse were charged at river ferries such as Wester Elchies and Black's Boat on the River Spey where only one small boat was available.¹⁰⁴

In addition to establishing the fares to be charged at river ferries, Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply* were expected to pay attention to the safety of the public using the ferries under their jurisdiction. The state of many rivers in Scotland, especially in winter, frequently presented dangers to those attempting to cross them and these committees were expected to protect the public interest. However, landowners

* See page 107.

comprised the membership of the committees and social difficulties could arise if legislation was directed against a neighbour who was also a ferry proprietor, consequently there was some reluctance to make interventions although accidents roused public concern and consequently provided opportunities for appropriate changes to be made. From time to time loss of life did occur although this was as often due to overcrowding on a boat by the public as it was to the provision of poor boats or to the climatic conditions. In 1723, at Boldside or Bielside on the Tweed near Melrose thirty-three people crowded into the ferry boat which "split with the excess weight and raging waters", and fifteen people were drowned.¹⁰⁵ In a similar accident on the river Garry in 1767, eighteen people were drowned in an attempt to cross the river on the ferry boat.¹⁰⁶ Rivers situated in the Highland region presented particular hazards but until bridges were built little was done to effect any improvements and there was considerable risk involved in attempting to cross a river such as the Findhorn which had claimed twenty-three victims at the ferry which plied "between Dulcie bridge and the post road". The local minister attributed this situation to either the mismanagement of the boat men or "the temerity of the people".¹⁰⁷

This comment seems to allocate the responsibility for the administration of ferries either to the ferrymen or to the passengers, thus, by implication, exonerating the proprietors and the appointed committees. It is true that by the late eighteenth century, rates, together with some regulations and

some regularity of service, had been established at some river ferries through the legislation passed by Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply committees but little or nothing had been achieved throughout Scotland to improve landing places, provide better equipped boats or extend the skills of ferrymen at these ferries. Had the importance of these neglected factors been noted by proprietors and appointed committees in general river ferry services might have functioned more efficiently, attracted a greater volume of traffic, made more money and generally might have made a more conspicuous contribution to communication in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scotland. Nevertheless, as the nineteenth century progressed, growing economic and commercial influences, changes in agricultural management, technological advances, together with a more positive response by landowners to innovation, provided opportunities to make improvements at some river ferries as an alternative to building bridges.

At this time, ferry proprietors on the Tay were particularly supportive of new ideas concerning the design of river ferry boats, possibly because of the inventiveness of James Fraser of Dowally, near Pitlochry, who designed a chain driven ferry boat consisting of a large platform placed on two long, narrow, pointed boats lying parallel to each other.¹⁰⁸ This ferry boat was introduced at Logierait, Caputh and Kinclaven and proved to be so successful that it was quickly employed at the ferry called Lampits on the Clyde.¹⁰⁹ The advantages of using this boat included the need to employ only one ferrymen,

the greater safety provided by the improved stability, the ease of embarking and disembarking beasts and all wheeled vehicles and the capacity to transport four loaded carts at one time. The facility of being able to drive on and drive off provided by this boat greatly decreased delays and there was a considerable increase in the number of crossings undertaken. Consequently, overhead costs were minimised while simultaneously the capacity for earning was greatly increased. The proprietors who employed these boats were not only ready to accept that innovation, with regard to the communication network in Scotland, could promote improvement but they were willing to invest their own money to prove it.¹¹⁰

Prior to the eighteenth century, any attempts to improve the system of communication in the hinterland of Scotland, particularly in the Highland region, foundered for at least four reasons, viz. lack of money, lack of labour, lack of technical knowledge and lack of motivation. At that time, therefore, most routes consisted of tracks, some being wide enough to accommodate pack horses, an occasional bridge at a nodal point and river ferries capable of transporting a limited number of people and beasts. There was little demand to change this provision which appeared to be adequate enough to meet the needs of the scattered population although the Statute of Labour Act, when passed in 1669, decreed that tenants and cottars had to supply six days labour in each of three successive years and four days labour each year thereafter. Local inhabitants had neither money, incentive nor desire to travel far afield and the lack of carts

or wheeled vehicles made it difficult to transport goods any distance, so roads were not considered to be important and little attention was paid to the 1669 Act. Lack of roads could prove to be an advantage, particularly in inhibiting easy access in remote areas where there were many warring factions in seventeenth century Scotland. The prosecution of the Covenanters and the occupation by Cromwell emphasised a view held by various landowners and clan chiefs, that few roads prevented unwanted infiltration.¹¹¹ However, the 1715 uprising clearly demonstrated the need for closer contact with the people and easier access to remote areas if law and order were to be maintained and unruly elements in the Highlands controlled. Consequently, General Wade's programme for the construction of a network of military roads in the Highland region facilitated the movement of troops and a policy of repression.¹¹² River ferries were incorporated into this road system but there was little change in their administration unless their strategic position was threatened and then great attention was paid to their situation. In 1745, for example, the ferry boat on the Spey at Kingussie was "rendered useless" after being bombarded by the heavy artillery of General Cope. Not content with disrupting the ferry service, "the King's troops burnt the ferry boat and the passage stopt annis 1746 and 1747 till it was repaired".¹¹³ Also in 1745, anxiety was expressed by Ludovic Grant of Grant regarding the satisfactory protection of ferry boats at Arndillie, Fiddich and Boat of Bog on the Spey and a number of men were allocated to these locations under orders to "watch the boats".¹¹⁴ In the same year, the

ferry boats at Crook Boat on the Clyde near Lanark were also sufficiently damaged to warrant the ferryman making a claim of £18 compensation to the Commissioners of Supply.¹¹⁵ Thereafter river ferry boats in Scotland were used only for peaceful purposes.

The 1715 and 1745 uprisings interrupted the economic, commercial and social development beginning in Scotland at the time of the Union of Parliaments in 1707. It was after 1750 that more attention began to be paid to education, trade increased, agricultural methods improved, technology advanced and industry expanded in response to the improvement in the production of natural resources such as coal, growing overseas trade, more money being made available and an enlightened attitude becoming prevalent among the upper classes. Only by establishing a satisfactory communication network could this emerging national economic and social potential be fully realised. By the later eighteenth century, the military roads built by Wade were disintegrating, mainly due to neglect and insufficient investment,¹¹⁶ and action was necessary to meet the increasingly vociferous public demands for improvement. In 1761, the Inverness Commissioners of Supply expressed their difficulty in meeting such demands with regard to the Inverness to Beauly road, which required a "thorough and laborious repair", because a "considerable outlay of expense in the purchase of tools" would be necessary to complete the work.¹¹⁷ In order to obtain money to assist in road maintenance tolls were introduced on turnpike roads¹¹⁸ which not only became more

numerous but were better constructed and maintained than any previous roads. The building of a turnpike road often included the erection of a bridge which rendered a ferry at that point superfluous and ferrymen redundant.¹¹⁹ Ferry proprietors often continued to enjoy an income from the toll of the new bridge but sometimes compensation was paid instead. Typical of this arrangement was the compensation paid to ferry proprietor Matthew Sharp in 1765 for loss of income on the completion of the Hoddon bridge spanning the River Annan on the Annan to Lockerbie road.¹²⁰

By the end of the eighteenth century, concern over rising prices influenced the view of ferries held by proprietors. Prices rose as a result of inflation due to the Napoleonic wars and this affected the wages of ferrymen and the cost of materials used to build and repair boats.¹²¹ Ferry proprietors had, by that time, established the practice of retaining ownership of the ferry boats and then employing the ferrymen at a stated wage. Consequently these owners were directly affected by inflationary prices. Such proprietors were often liberal-minded landowners who were interested in developing the economy of their estates by introducing new industries or expanding those already established. The duke of Atholl, the duke of Gordon, Grant of Monymusk and Grant of Ballandalloch were several proprietors who supported the idea of 'new towns' by encouraging the growth of different crops, the introduction of new agricultural methods, the planting of trees and the development of rural crafts. Such men were often

ambivalent in their view of the usefulness of the services provided by river ferries. Some, like the duke of Atholl, employed new ferry boats¹²² capable of meeting the changing demands and which, because of their efficient functioning, survived into the twentieth century. Others, however, subscribed to the alternative solution of building bridges, with the subsequent demise of river ferries,¹²³ in the belief that only through effecting change by building a permanent construction, could the system of communication sufficiently improve to open up the hinterland of Scotland and permit the opportunities, available in the context of the industrial revolution, to be taken.

Although the demand for the building of bridges escalated in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the need to facilitate the crossing of rivers was always present and the construction of a bridge was attempted much earlier in some places than in others. Lack of technical knowledge and difficulty in transporting suitable materials contributed to several unsuccessful efforts to build bridges in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The fifteenth century burgesses of Aberdeen initiated the building of a bridge over the River Dee by appointing a churchman to superintend the project and by paying £20 Scots annually for ten years to defray the expenses. However, that bridge was never completed and the inhabitants of Aberdeen continued to be served by the ferries at Ferryhill and St. Fotins or Foty or Foot of Dee for the next 60 years.¹²⁴ At Dunkeld, too,

over a period between 1461 and 1561, great efforts were made to erect a bridge across the Tay. Under the patronage of successive bishops of Dunkeld and the guidance of an appointed master of works, no expense was spared to try to achieve their objective; for example, "932 loads of clay" were transported together with "2,500 loads of wall stones", "947 horse-hires" carried lime from Perth, "14 lumps of iron" were brought from Glengarry and many trees from the forest of Murthly.¹²⁵

However, the bridge structure was never sufficiently stable to withstand the force of flood water on the Tay, with the result that only ferries effected the crossing of the river at Dunkeld until the nineteenth century, when a bridge was built.¹²⁶

However, at Peebles, the burgesses there did succeed in erecting a bridge over the River Tweed in the early sixteenth century.

The placid waters of the Tweed at Peebles are not comparable to the forceful waters of the Tay at Dunkeld but the incentives employed to complete the building of the bridge over the Tweed may have contributed to the success of the enterprise, as those people, men or women, who physically transported large quantities of stone were made burgesses of the town of Peebles.¹²⁷ Like

the River Tweed, the Clyde also presented fewer engineering problems to bridge builders than the Tay, Spey and other Highland rivers, therefore it is not surprising to find a number of bridges successfully erected over the Clyde in the seventeenth century. In 1661, a bridge was built over the Clyde at Catchapel and another traversed Duneaton Water. The expense of building these bridges was met partly by voluntary contributions from local "noblemen, magistrates and ministers" and partly from a toll

collected at the bridges, to wit "for each footman or woman, 2 pennies Scots: for each horse with his load or ryder, 6 pennies: for nolt beast or single horse, 4 pennies: for ilk sheip, 2 pennies".¹²⁸ There was often difficulty in obtaining sufficient funding to build a bridge and in the mid-seventeenth century reasons for this were linked with outbreaks of plague, raids by different armies and "publict burdingis" but in spite of such limitations another bridge over the Clyde was completed at Clydesholm in 1699.¹²⁹

The extemporary nature of bridge building throughout Scotland in the seventeenth century, continued until the end of the eighteenth century, with the exception of the forty bridges built by Wade. Bridges were usually built at points where local opinion, particularly that held by landowners, was sufficiently strong to motivate the subscription of funds or to lobby government authorities for financial support.¹³⁰ Where the weight of traffic was increasing and the need arose for more efficient local transport of goods and people, successful arguments often persuaded subscribers to donate money to build a bridge when they could not be prevailed upon to improve a ferry. However, success was not always achieved. At Meikle in 1795, £800 was raised to replace the ferry on the River Isla with a bridge but "these attempts were frustrated by the societies who were peculiarly interested in their own successes",¹³¹ and the ferry continued to operate there at that time. Yet such opposition to bridge building appears to have arisen from only a minority. Towards the end of the

eighteenth century arguments in favour of building bridges grew in volume and intensity. It was said that the results of building a bridge would include raising the value of the adjoining land, activating industry and trade, thus involving landowners in less financial outlay and generally improving the state of society.¹³² Such altruistic expressions sometimes hid a vested interest whereby those actively involved in bridge building could profit. This was the case at Lossiemouth where the Provost and Magistrates received a petition to construct a bridge over the River Lossie from a timber merchant who had already purchased the necessary wood in anticipation of receiving the contract.¹³³ Special pleading frequently occurred in different localities. At Fochabers, for example, it was claimed that to build a bridge there would ensure a free and regular passage along the great post road from the south to Inverness and northwards through Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland and Caithness to Orkney, and would facilitate the journeys of circuit judges and the movement of troops thus safeguarding the peace of the country and protecting the population.¹³⁴ These arguments proved to be conclusive and a bridge was built at Fochabers early in 1800.¹³⁵

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the practical, financial and social benefits of bridge building incorporated as part of a general system of improvements for regional and national road networks, persuaded the government to make a substantial financial investment to that end. The Commission for Highlands Roads and Bridges was constituted in 1803 and

supported Telford's recommendations¹³⁶ so that many new roads and bridges were completed. These bridges included the one across the Tay at Dunkeld (1809) towards which the duke of Atholl contributed half of the estimated cost of £15,000.¹³⁷ Thereafter all the ferries at Dunkeld ceased to function. Nevertheless, even bridges built in the nineteenth century could not always withstand the fierceness of floods and storms and in 1829 many of Telford's bridges were damaged and some, including those at Ballater and at Findhorn, were demolished. Consequently, ferries had to be reinstated at these crossings to accommodate the travelling public until the bridges could be rebuilt.¹³⁸

The development of river ferries in Scotland was inhibited by a number of inter-related factors which included the geological structure of the river beds, the nature of the water and the climatic conditions. These physical aspects provided a permanent background against which the additional fluctuating economic and social factors had to interact. The gradual emergence of a new industrial structure from the 1750s made a continuous, if almost imperceptible impact on the development of river ferries and, although vehicular transport changed and improved in order to facilitate overland communication, proprietors did not readily make corresponding changes at river ferries. The advent of steam and the expansion of the iron and steel industries revolutionised the design and propulsion of ships and although estuary ferry boats benefited from this modernisation, river ferry boats remained largely unaffected. Adam Smith's philosophy of motivation

through self interest¹³⁹ was widely demonstrated in the later eighteenth and in the nineteenth century. Investors expected a high percentage of profit from a capital outlay, therefore ventures such as the maintenance and development of river ferries, which would produce a low return, was not an attractive proposition. Modernisation of the communication system of Scotland through an improved road network linked by bridges and interspersed with a few strategically placed canals and a dramatically expanding railway system, left little room by the middle of the nineteenth century for the continued functioning of most river ferries. The few ferries that did remain had either been developed through the introduction of new, more appropriately designed boats or else they served an area where a scattered population and little traffic made small demands on the ferry service but where it was convenient to effect a river crossing. In the main, therefore, the complex demands of modernisation combined with the extensive bridge-building programme at the beginning of the nineteenth century resulted in little substantial development of river ferries and many ceased to function at all.

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CHAPTER FOUR

ESTUARY FERRIES

This chapter discusses the development of estuary ferries in Scotland, considers how this development was influenced by change and assesses the importance of these ferries within the regional and national communication network. The topography of Scotland, fashioned by millenia of repeated glaciations, with ice distributed mainly on the western land mass shows a marked contrast between the penetrating estuaries and fertile basins in the east and the fragmented pattern of sea-inlets in the west.¹ The Firth of Clyde is the only estuary on the west coast which is comparable in formation to those on the eastern seaboard, viz. the Firths of Forth, Tay, Moray, Cromarty and Dornoch. On such estuaries the tidal wash combined with the residue brought down by subsidiary rivers formed deposits of silt on the upper reaches where fresh and salt water met. The head of the Clyde estuary was particularly susceptible to this phenomenon which resulted both in lessening the depth of water there as well as narrowing the channel.² In order to maintain a free passage for ships the removal of the silt was essential.

Estuaries in Scotland, particularly those on the Firths of Forth, Tay and Clyde served both as natural barriers and routes of communication by virtue of their geographical position and considerable length and breadth. The location of the Forth and Clyde estuaries formed natural defensive barriers across the central belt of Scotland during times of conflict between North

and South. Scotland had been subjected to repeated attacks by different invaders but the most persistent foreign antagonist was England. Attempts by England to overrun and dominate Scotland were made throughout the centuries before the Union of the Crowns in 1603. Even after that peace between England and Scotland was elusive, with Cromwellian efforts to control Scotland countered by the Scots in the 1650s.³ Continuous in-fighting between different Scottish factions resulted in the dissipation of effort, money and manpower which, in turn, delayed the emergence of Scotland as an influential force in international commerce. In the eighteenth century this internal dissension centred on the struggle for the throne by the Pretenders, James and Charles Stewart, which was manifested in the unsuccessful uprisings of 1715 and 1745. During these uprisings the strategic function of estuary ferries was demonstrated when the Moray and Cromarty Firths in particular were used as part of a defensive framework by both sides in the conflicts. Only by controlling the ferry locations was it possible to obtain access to a passage across these Firths at that time.⁴

Estuaries were so placed in relation to each other that the intervening land could be both partitioned and protected by them providing the inhabitants with a sense of security and local identity. Opportunities for social interaction, commercial expansion and economic development were inhibited, however, by the isolation of the districts situated between the estuaries and it was in response to the need to link such isolated areas that estuaries became routes of communication

which formed a direct line between the sea and inland towns and villages. Water transport provided relative ease of travel and conveyance of goods in comparison with the difficulties encountered in traversing rude and ill-defined over-land routes. Moreover, passage across the width of an estuary avoided a prolonged journey round the head with the resulting saving of time, money and physical effort. For example, the distance from Edinburgh to Dunfermline overland via Stirling would be 59 miles as compared with only 17 miles crossing by ferry using the Queensferry Passage on the Forth estuary. Consequently, there was a demand for some form of manned boats to provide ferry services across estuaries. Each estuary accommodated differing numbers of ferry locations which varied according to the size of the estuary and its geographical location, together with the importance accorded to it in the context of national and regional factors and influences. In the seventeenth century, there were at least ten ferries operating on each of the Forth⁵ and Clyde⁶ estuaries, although the latter were less in demand and less vibrant than their counterparts in the East. At that time, eight ferries were employed on the Tay⁷ estuary, while on the Moray Firth three ferries functioned.⁸ Four ferries plied across the Cromarty Firth⁹ and two operated across the Dornoch Firth.¹⁰

Although some estuary ferry locations were sited on shores which narrowed towards the head of an estuary, the more important locations were often clustered round the estuary mouth thus functioning in the dual capacity of port and ferry terminal.

By the seventeenth century, Scotland's external and internal trade had centred on east coast ports, with regions surrounding the estuaries of the Forth and, to a lesser extent, the Tay, becoming growth areas in response to expanding markets and quickening competition. The export of skins, linen and cattle to England and grain, coal, coarse woollen goods and fish to the Continent¹¹ from ports on the Forth and Tay estuaries necessitated the carriage of such commodities from the hinterland. Consequently, the most functional form of transport included ferry boats. The proximity of port and ferry terminals facilitated easy transfer of goods to and from ferry and sea-going vessels which reduced time, labour and financial costs. Imports such as timber from Norway, iron from the Baltic, wines and fine cloth from France,¹² could all be distributed more readily to inland centres by means of available ferry boats plying across estuaries. Internal trade taking place in the seventeenth century was, in the main, confined to interaction within individual localities and estuary ferries were employed to transport goods and people from one area to another.

In the seventeenth century, no population explosion had yet occurred and the local populace were largely occupied with the business of survival and furthermore, were not encouraged to deviate from their prescribed life-style by their overlords.¹³ Journeys were undertaken by those forming the hierarchy of the crown, the church, the government and the nobility. Prior to the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the kings of Scotland, accompanied

by their courts, travelled to different parts of the realm for social, political and military reasons. Invariably, crossings were made over the Forth and sometimes the Tay estuaries, and ferry boats in attendance at locations there serviced those requirements. When Edinburgh developed into the capital city of Scotland in the late fifteenth century, there was little marked effect on the demands made on Forth estuary ferries as it was equally as important for control and administrative purposes to accommodate the flow of traffic from south to north as it had been from north to south. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Edinburgh progressed as a city of international importance and as a result of the industrial and commercial expansion an ever-increasing volume of traffic entered and left the city which also meant increased business for the ferries serving the Forth estuary. Similarly, the growth of Glasgow and its neighbouring towns in that period spawned enormous increases in traffic using the Clyde estuary, with corresponding expansion in the use of ferries there. At Dundee also, the effect of economic and commercial enterprise resulted in greater demands being made on the Tay estuary ferries.

Urbanisation did not necessarily develop only within towns or burghs previously established.¹⁴ The uneven tenor of the growth of urbanisation stemmed from a complex matrix of influences, among which the rapid increase in population featured prominently. This growth in population provided cheap labour for the development of new industries including cotton, jute, ship building and engineering. Corresponding improvement in

agriculture gathered momentum in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,¹⁵ initiated by the introduction of new machinery, by innovations in farm and beast management and by the production of larger, more suitable types of wheeled vehicles. The increase in population,¹⁶ in spite of migration from rural areas to new industrial centres, ensured that a larger labour force was available for work on the land. It is uncertain whether this increase in the population of Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries accelerated changes already taking place or whether the labour force, then readily available, simply facilitated these changes. Certainly, there was greater movement from place to place by more people as the various demands of agriculture, industry and commerce had to be met. The intermittent travelling of the past made to fulfil specific but occasional needs was replaced in the nineteenth century by frequent and regular journeys both to undertake work and for pleasure. Estuary ferry services were faced with the problems of providing a more regular, better administered and more comfortable service if these new sources of revenue were to be successfully exploited. However, the changes initiated to improve ferry services, would be unproductive unless the deficient and inadequate communication network of Scotland as a whole was subjected to radical improvement.

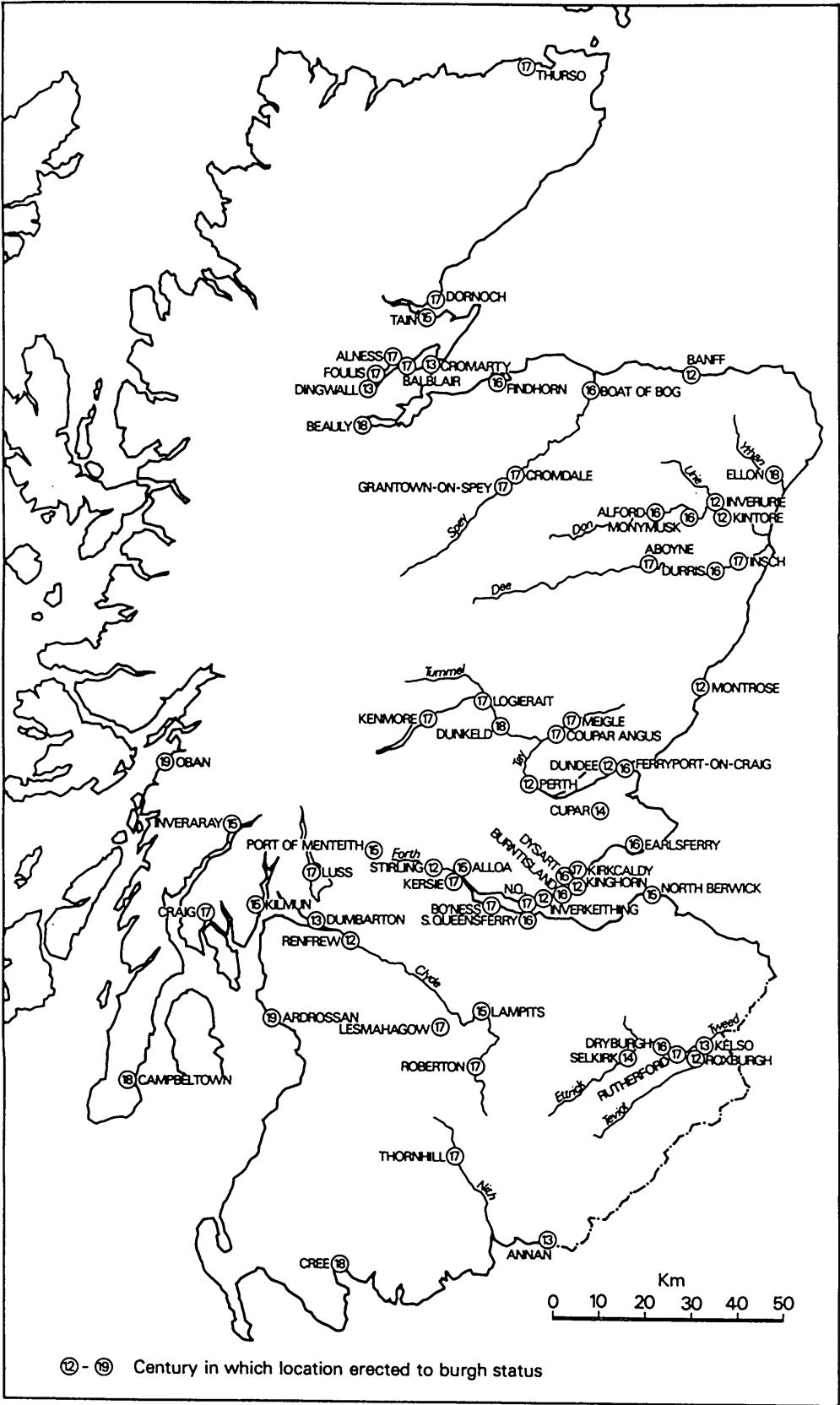
Prior to 1715, a myriad of uncharted tracks constituted the main communication routes throughout Scotland even in the east and central regions where they were supplemented by a few wider and,

by dint of frequent usage, better defined highways. After the 1715 uprising, the official policy of pacification, particularly in the Highland regions, was facilitated by the road construction programme undertaken by General Wade who built 250 miles of road and 40 bridges.¹⁷ The gathering momentum of agricultural and industrial change in the 1790s prompted further review of the state of roads, bridges and ferries which the complacent management of the appointed statutory bodies, that is, the Justices of the Peace, the Commissioners of Supply and others, had allowed to deteriorate. In 1801, a number of surveyors submitted proposals to reconstruct, extend and improve the maintenance of roads, bridges and ferries.¹⁸ They also put forward the notion that the construction of canals, linking appropriate industrial centres, would facilitate the transport of goods. The introduction of steam was an additional factor and the condition and suitability of estuary ferry landing places and quays were examined in relation to the adaptations necessary to accommodate the new steam-powered boats.¹⁹ The positive response to these reports confirmed that those then responsible for the state of landing places at estuary ferries were well aware of the financial, social and even political rewards which would accrue from carrying out necessary improvements. Access roads, and subsequent ferry links with railways, were included in future plans. Legislation authorised standardisation in the construction of roads with the minimal dimensions of the width of a road extended and surfaces made more even.²⁰ Consequently, access to estuary ferry quays and landing places became easier and more convenient.

The road building programme initiated in the early 1800s did not, in itself, promote faster and more comfortable transportation of freight. The total dependence on either manpower or horse-power to impel vehicles severely limited the speed and time taken for journeys. Nevertheless, road improvements did permit the employment of more horses to draw a greater variety of vehicles which increased the speed of travel. In the nineteenth century, carts became bigger and more spacious, and there were diverse carriages and coaches built to larger and heavier designs. The practicalities of transporting such a variety of size and weight of vehicle posed logistical problems for estuary ferry boats and the cost of reconstructing existing boats had to be balanced against the cost of buying new ones. However, a positive response was necessary to meet these changes if the future viability of estuary ferry services was to be preserved.

In order to assess the importance of estuary ferries within the regional and national communication system of Scotland a closer study must be made of the factors contributing to the history and development of these ferry services. The feudalistic system of land ownership in Scotland stemmed from an Anglo-Norman concept from which a hierarchy of tenurial relationships was developed from the king to the lowest hind.²¹ David I, exposed to these ideas during his stay south of the border, strongly encouraged their acceptance in Scotland on his accession to the Scottish throne in 1124.²² Subsequently, successive kings of Scotland attempted to protect their position by courting the

Ferries at Locations with Burgh Status



support of powerful allies in the Church and among the aristocracy. The uncertainty of lasting commitment from such people was an ever-present incentive which motivated the monarch to constantly review his relationship with them. Consequently, gifts to the Church ensured the support of the Church; elevation of towns to the status of burghs, with the accompanying benefits to burgesses, guaranteed not only substantial financial return but also the promised loyalty of prominent townspeople; grants of landed estates to noblemen provided not only trusted allies who would substantiate royal power but also provide the manpower necessary to implement it, while at the same time, creating a ready force available for the personal protection of the King. Rights of estuary ferries were not infrequently included, together with rights concerning fishing and fairs,²³ in the charters and favours granted by Scottish Kings which were accepted by the recipients as valuable strategic, financial and even social assets which could apparently operate without attracting undue attention.

David I, a king acutely aware of the need for the approval of the Church, granted a charter conferring "The Passage and Ship of Inverkeithing"²⁴ to the Abbot of Dunfermline in 1130. Dunfermline was then a royal seat and sepulture, one of the centres of government and a royal burgh and was therefore a hub of local, national and international activity. The right of ferry across the Forth, by which the comings and goings concerning Dunfermline were serviced, was therefore a somewhat lucrative acquisition for the Abbey. In 1147, David I also granted the rights of ferry at

Cambuskenneth, near the head of the Forth estuary, to the Augustinian canons who established the Abbey there.²⁵ This was a small ferry used mainly for the convenience of the canons and their visitors. Abbeys retained their influence and in 1134, David II granted the right of ferry at Kirkcaldy to the Abbot of Dunfermline,²⁶ a gift which presented the Abbey with a monopoly of ferry services at the most frequented passages across the Forth. In 1336, David II also granted the ferry rights over the Forth at Stirling to the chaplain of the altar of St. Lawrence in the parish church there. This ferry, replacing the wooden bridge destroyed at the battle of Stirling Bridge in 1297, was the only route to the north across the head of the Forth estuary and although there was little attraction north of Stirling to encourage the movement of many people or heavy goods traffic, nevertheless, the revenue provided an income for the parish church.²⁷ The Crown was not unaware of the benefits available from tapping a source of income, such as revenue from a ferry, and allocating that money to the maintenance of a church. In 1457 James II, for example, awarded the revenue of the ferry of Dunskeath or Cromarty on the Cromarty Firth, to the upkeep of the chaplaincy at Tain.²⁸

It was not uncommon for the shores of the estuaries to act as boundaries for estates, a sensible enough arrangement concerning the apportioning of land but one which created difficulties when applied to the possession of rights of ferry. The successful administration of a ferry service could be at risk when the possession of ferry rights only applied to the ferry location on one side of the passage. David I ignored possible difficulties

when he granted the right of ferry at Inverkeithing to the Abbot of Dunfermline in 1130²⁹ because the bull issued by Pope Alexander III in 1163 revealed that only "half the passage" was included in the gift.³⁰ In the twelfth century, Cospatrick, son of Waltheof, was recognised by Malcolm IV as being one of the two proprietors of the Dalmeny-Inverkeithing passage. By the early fourteenth century, Sir Roger de Mowbray, Lord of Dalmeny and descendent of Cospatrick, still retained possession of half of the ferry.³¹ However, his property was forfeited to Robert the Bruce as the penalty for conspiracy against the King³² who then conferred "the half of the Passage of the Queen that Roger de Mowbray possessed" upon Dunfermline Abbey.³³ Thereafter, Dunfermline Abbey held the rights of ferry of the whole Queensferry Passage.

With regard to the possession of ferry rights on other estuaries, church officials were involved in similar transactions. In 1437, the rights of ferry at Kessock on the inner Moray Firth were divided, with the Dominican prior and friars at Inverness holding "the land and ferry of Easter Kessock",³⁴ while the proprietor of the estate of Redcastle in the Black Isle retained "the lands of Kessock at a rental of 20 shillings sterling, paid to the burgh of Inverness".³⁵ It was not until 1591 that James VI attempted to regularise the rights of this ferry in favour of the burgh of Inverness by granting it "all and hail the water of Kessock and all the landing places on both sides of the said Ferry".³⁶ However, in spite of this decree it was the Earls of Seaforth, then lairds of Redcastle, who retained the ferry

rights of the whole passage and became the sole proprietors.³⁷
 In the eighteenth century, the subsequent lairds of Redcastle, members of clan Grant, acquired the Kessock ferry rights which were eventually purchased, together with the rest of the property of Redcastle, by Sir William Fettes in the early nineteenth century.³⁸

A number of estuary ferry rights were held as a result of direct inheritance, many until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but these were often subjected to fluctuations common to heritable properties, including marriage contracts and business deals. The rights of ferry at 'Sea Mylns' or Newport on the Tay estuary provides an example of the complexities surrounding such an inheritance. In the thirteenth century, these ferry rights were owned by Lascelles, lords of the barony of Naughton, and by 1595 through the de Morays, Henry de Lichtoun, the Forresters and eventually the Kinnairds, Patrick Kinnaird of that Ilk inherited the estate, together with the right of ferry. In the same year, he obtained a charter for his barony from the Privy Council including a grant of "all and hail the passage of the water of Tay at Dundee". The burgesses of Dundee, however, strongly objected to the monopoly he had obtained and ensured disruption by causing "daily trouble" and making "impediment to boats ... thereby causing great inconvenience to those haunting the passage of the water of Dundee".³⁹ Kinnaird appealed to Parliament for support and this was forthcoming through the ratification of his charter, which stated "that nane of our

Soverane's lieges ... tak upon hand to molest ony of those passing at the ferry or landing...".⁴⁰ No further conflict appeared to arise and, strangely enough, Kinnaird apparently ceased to exercise his privileges and allowed his interest in the ferry to lapse, but this gap was filled by the continued supervision of the Privy Council.⁴¹

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the rights of ferry at Port-on-Craig, another estuary ferry location on the south side of the Tay, belonged to the Earls of Angus and were passed from one landowner to another following a not dissimilar pattern of possession to that concerning Sea Mylns or Newport. In 1485, Lord Glamis acquired the Ferry Port-on-Craig ferry rights, together with other perquisites, on his marriage to Elizabeth Scrymgeour, daughter of Sir John Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Constable of Dundee.⁴² Thereafter, "the lands of South Ferry of Portincraig, now Ferryport-in-Craig, with the town, port and right of ferry" was the subject of sale and was purchased by Alexander, Lord Lindsay and Earl of Crawford,⁴³ whose descendant Alexander Lindsay of Pitcairlie was still the proprietor in 1655. However, by 1683, Sir Patrick Lyon of Carse had obtained these lands and in 1737, William Lyon, Sir Patrick's second son was said to have realised the asset of the ferry rights of Port-on-Craig given to him by his father, by selling them to the burgh of Dundee for 21 guineas.⁴⁴

On the Clyde estuary, too, many rights of ferry were part of the heritable property of the ancient families in that area although data in this regard is sparse and incomplete. The ferry

rights of Dumbarton, for example, were owned by Sir William Hamilton in 1664,⁴⁵ while those of the Erskine ferry, the property of the Earls of Mar, were subsequently transferred to Lord Blantyre whose family retained possession until the 1830s. At Renfrew, at least from the fourteenth century, the ferry rights were part of the estates of the dukes of Lennox although later they were acquired by the dukes of Montrose.⁴⁶ The dukes of Montrose also owned the right of ferry at Inchinnan on the Clyde estuary but these were sold to Macdowall of Castlesemple in 1770.⁴⁷ The dukes of Argyll owned the ferry rights of Dunoon and Kirn situated on the west shore of the Clyde estuary and by inheritance the Campbells continued in possession. However, by 1813, the proprietors belonged to different branches of the Campbell clan, with Dunoon ferry rights being held by Alexander Campbell of Ballochmyle and those of Kirn by Duncan Campbell of Glendaruel. As only a mile separates Dunoon and Kirn it was not surprising that a dispute arose between the two Campbells regarding which terminus should prevail. An appeal to the law only resulted in prevarication and eventually the conflict was dissipated, with both ferry locations continuing to operate.⁴⁸

Rights of estuary ferries assumed by the Crown, were, as recognised by the foregoing discussion, often granted to religious institutions and particular families but in the case of some important ferries no direct grants were made, thus permitting the appropriate burgh to assume the right of ferry. The magistrates of the burghs of the Forth estuary ports of

Kirkcaldy, Kinghorn, Pettycur and Burntisland undertook the rights of ferry at these ferry termini from the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁴⁹ A fundamental distinction can be made between the rights of ferry of these burghs and, for example, those at Dundee and Queensferry where specific grants had vested the ferry rights in subjects other than the magistrates and town councils. Consequently, possession of ferry rights of those particular passages over the Tay and the Forth were denied to the respective burgh corporations unless they could be acquired by prescription.⁵⁰ To acquire ferry rights by prescription allowed contingency plans to be adopted if special circumstances dictated such a course of action. This occurred in Perth in 1622 when the bridge traversing the River Tay was destroyed and it was eventually acknowledged that it was not possible to rebuild a bridge at that time. The crossing of the Tay at that point was of paramount importance if this vital communication link between north and south Scotland was to be kept open. The only method of achieving this with any degree of success was to resort to the use of ferry boats. Therefore, the magistrates and town Council of Perth were prescribed the right of ferry over the passage and were "appointed and allowed Passage Boats to be kept upon the River Tay at the place where the Bridge stood opposite to the Town and ever since had the Regulation of that Passage".⁵¹

The possession of a right of ferry was not only an asset, it also involved certain obligations and responsibilities to be fulfilled concerning the provision and maintenance of boats *

* Maintenance of ferry boat at Burntisland in 1690. See Appendix A.

suitable for the passage and for the proper administration of men and regulations appropriate to a public service. These conditions were particularly applicable in the case of proprietors of estuary ferry rights as their boats were usually engaged in crossing broad, exposed stretches of water frequently carrying large numbers of passengers and a considerable volume of goods. It did not follow, however, that these various proprietors responded uniformly to the conditions contained in the charters granting them rights of ferry in a conscientious fashion. Nevertheless, it was often when the implementation of these conditions was attempted that discrepancies arose between the principles expressed in the charters and the practice explicit in the management of the service. Precedents concerning such deviations were established from the fifteenth century when the earliest act of Parliament concerning ferry regulations was passed in 1425.⁵² James I, aware of the difficulties involved in the transport of horses because of the lack of suitable landing places at ferries, ordained that when horses were ferried each boat must possess a "treene brigge", or gang plank, to facilitate the transfer of a horse from shore to boat. The penalty for failure to comply with this edict was payment of 40 shillings for each boat. This apparently failed to act as an incentive to procure a "treene brigge" as a further act was passed in 1467 which applied to all Scotland's main ferries at that time, including Leith, Queensferry, Kinghorn and Port-on-Craig, requiring "briggis of buirde or parts in ferry boats for the ease of schipping of the said horse".⁵³

The same directives were repeated in similar acts passed in 1469 and again in 1474⁵⁴ but the ferrymen continued to ignore the legislation and boats remained ill-equipped, with penalty clauses spurned due, in part, to the lack of any pattern of control at that time through which legislation of this kind could be enforced.

To effect improvement of ferry services while simultaneously maintaining boats and landing places, together with paying ferrymen's wages, was not an attractive proposition, prior to the eighteenth century, for those proprietors who viewed their ownership of ferries as a financial investment. Therefore, improvements were not highly ranked on the list of priorities to be undertaken. The source of income lay in the licence fee or rental obtained from the lease of a ferry passage to a tacksman or to a boatman. Such a procedure was followed for estuary ferries as early as 1275 in connection with the Queensferry Passage when Ralph de Greenlaw, Abbot of Dunfermline Abbey, granted the lease of eight oars in the "new passage boat". The eight licensees, six men and two women, either rowed themselves or, in the case of the women, employed a man to row in their place. Each of the eight received an eighth interest in the boat and each paid an annual rent of 8d in addition to contributing to the payment of the previous rent established for the "old" boat and to the provision of services to the abbot.⁵⁵ Consequently, there was financial gain for both the Abbot and the ferrymen, albeit a guaranteed sum for the former and a variable figure for the latter depending on

the volume of traffic and the rates charged.

The direct communication between proprietor and ferrymen became established practice at many estuary ferries. In 1684, the magistrates and Town Council of Kirkcaldy, for example, licensed four ferry boats to ferry across the Forth to Leith at an annual rent of £20 Scots for each boat⁵⁶ and, even in 1820, with the advent of steam, the same magistrates and town Council granted licences to "three steam boats for one year ... for the sum of 150 guineas per annum".⁵⁷ Perth Town Council followed a different procedure. In this case, a licence to ferry was granted to a tacksman who, in turn, employed ferrymen to man the ferry boats. This method of employment, that is the granting of a licence to a tacksman was, of course, common practice in other types of work in Scotland during the eighteenth century. At Perth, the tacksman, according to this system, only acquired the tack to ferry in competition with other bidders at an open roup or sale and was constrained to keep "at least twelve large Boats and six small Boats ..." and to pay £50.5.0 annual rent, with the tack being open to competition each year.⁵⁸ Possible tacksman might have considered that the outlay expended on the upkeep of boats, the wages of ferrymen and the annual rental was not worthwhile in view of the insecurity of tenure but the town Council calculated accurately that the demand for ferry services and the ensuing income was sufficiently great to attract annual competition for the tack. The aim of the town Council was, understandably, to "add to the Town's yearly incomes".⁵⁹

The income from and the expenditure for estuary ferry services was not infrequently out of balance and proprietors were constantly seeking viable methods of raising money not only to maintain the ferry services but to obtain a profit from them. Consequently, the axiom of shared expense was adopted in some areas as one way of achieving these objectives. In 1565 and 1566, sixteen shares in the ferry at Queensferry Passage were offered for sale by Henry Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline Abbey, who in assuming the role of the Abbot, was also the proprietor of the rights of ferry at the Queensferry Passage. Not only were those shares quickly purchased but two additional shares were also sold thus making a total of eighteen sixteenth shares.⁶⁰ By 1661, the division of these shares had doubled from sixteen to thirty-two and were held by different categories of people ranging from Robert Marshall, "shipmaster, burgess of the burgh of Queensferry,"⁶¹ to Sir Archibald Primrose of Chesters.⁶² Any expectations of high financial return held by these investors remained unfulfilled principally because of the continuous arbitrary behaviour of the ferrymen with their total disregard of authority and flouting of regulations. Therefore, although the principal of shared expense seemed sound, the execution of it, at that time, was surrounded by insuperable difficulties. No other estuary ferry service was involved in any similar scheme and even by 1722 there was agreement that "the ferry business yeilds a very moderate gain".⁶³

The economic growth which gathered momentum in the mid-eighteenth century with the development of the tobacco trade in Glasgow and the textile trade in the regions of the Rivers Clyde and Tay, encouraged the interchange of money as it became more plentiful. The gradual divergence of money, at that time, from private and local banks to the more stable national banks, which were showing dramatic increases in assets, made ready money more easily available particularly when securities were guaranteed.⁶⁴ However, money was not only more readily available, more was now required to effect essential changes. Throughout Scotland, money was required to fund improvements regarding roads, bridges and ferries if the nineteenth century changes in the fields of trade, industry and agriculture were to be sustained. Division of the burden of expense was again adopted as an appropriate method of securing the money needed to carry out improvements at ferry locations, with the state paying half the cost while the remaining half was raised by subscription.⁶⁵ The Forth Ferry Trustees, appointed in 1809, estimated that a sum of £18,500 would be necessary to effect the essential changes at the Queensferry Passage. Half of this sum was to be paid by the government with the remainder subscribed at the rate of £500 annually by "persons of fortune and Distinction". In the event, a bank loan of £10,000 was obtained on the security of the names of three local landed gentry.⁶⁶ Similarly, the ferry trustees of Kinghorn and Burntisland, appointed in 1811, secured £10,000 from the government and raised an equal sum by subscription.⁶⁷ At Dundee, too, the Tay Ferry

Trustees, established in 1818, were advanced £7,000 by private individuals as security towards a government payment of £24,000.

There seems little doubt that this method of obtaining both public and private monies to apportion expenses incurred by ferry services on the Forth and the Tay estuaries was a satisfactory solution to the nineteenth century problem of keeping the ferries abreast of the rapid rate of change taking place. These ferries, being under public ownership, were not subjected to the criticism levelled at privately owned ferries. Private ferries were said to be "prejudicial to public welfare",⁶⁹ an ever growing opinion, particularly in areas where privately owned ferries were found to be inadequate and indifferently managed. It was a prevalent view that "Ferries (should) be purchased and paid for by money raised upon the security of (ferry) rents".⁷⁰ The division of a privately owned ferry by means of shares being offered to a number of individuals might have facilitated improvements undertaken at that ferry but it would also result in changing the source of the control of the ferry. The Kessock Ferry on the Moray Firth was deemed to be a case in point. This ferry, in the past strategically important to its owners and in 1800 still a most important communication link servicing a growing volume of traffic, required improvements to be undertaken. These were estimated to cost £13,000, a sum which it was proposed, could be obtained by offering twenty-six equal shares to individuals who would each execute a bond to the bank for £500.⁷¹ However, Grant of Redcastle, the ferry proprietor, had already initiated improvements which were in a

"very advanced state of forwardness" and "would soon be completed".⁷²

Therefore, the proprietor was left to meet the cost and to retain possession of the ferry which continued to operate at an increasing profit. At the same time, Berry of Tayfield also foresaw the benefits of ferry ownership and in 1800 purchased the rights of ferry at Newport on the Tay estuary, together with the surrounding lands, buildings and amenities. In 1819, after the Newport ferry had undergone extensive renovations, the newly appointed Tay Ferry Trustees proposed to build a new ferry site adjacent to Newport. Berry of Tayfield protested at such an infringement on his right of ferry and eventually the proposals were withdrawn and he continued to enjoy the financial return from the ferry monopoly he had established.⁷³

Ferries on the Clyde estuary were not so dependent on separate allocations of money to effect improvements as those on the Forth and the Tay because the natural conditions existing on the Clyde demanded continuous review and financial investment from the Town Councils of the towns bordering the estuary, particularly Glasgow Town Council. "The shallownesse of the River (Clyde) every day more and more increasing and filling up"⁷⁴ resulted in efforts being made to deepen the channel as early as 1610 when Glasgow burgesses sought financial aid from other Scottish burghs to remove the sand and shingle which prevented ships reaching Glasgow.⁷⁵ A series of attempts to clear away stones, particularly at Dumbuck Ford,⁷⁶ were made in the later seventeenth century but none was effective. Glasgow Town Council undertook responsibility to improve facilities on the

Clyde and the increasing urgency of the problem was emphasised in the mid-eighteenth century with the increase in trading vessels using the Clyde estuary.⁷⁷ In the 1770s, John Golborne caused 117 groynes to be built on both sides of the river and this, together with dredging operations, succeeded in deepening the channel and in providing a passage-way for more ships to reach Glasgow.⁷⁸ It was only at that time that Clyde estuary ferries were directly affected as, when these curative operations were being executed, ferry quay and landing-places were frequently damaged. In some cases proprietors of these privately owned ferries exploited the situation because, although compensation was claimed legitimately against Glasgow Town Council for damage sustained to existing ferry quays and landing-places, the replacement of an old, decaying quay by a well-built new one was a readily acceptable proposition. Glasgow Town Council, aware of such a contingency, attempted to protect its own interests. For example, when Claud Lang, proprietor of the ferry at Point house, near Govan, complained in 1789 that the quay there was "made useless by operations made by the city on the Clyde" and claimed that a new quay be built,⁷⁹ Glasgow Town Council responded with the allocation of £50 sterling, and the accompanying condition that the proprietor must erect a quay similar to that used at the Renfrew ferry. In addition, the Town Council decreed that, in the event of the proprietor refusing to comply with their condition the existing quay would simply be repaired.⁸⁰ However, Lang refused to subsidise the burgh of Glasgow from his private purse and persistently pursued

his demands. Eventually, in 1797, Glasgow Town Council accepted liability and the quay was rebuilt at their expense.⁸¹ Thus, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Glasgow Town Council accepted responsibility for underwriting expenses incurred in renovating and developing Clyde estuary ferries⁸² to a degree which had no counterpart in relation to estuary ferries on the Forth and Tay or on the Firths of Moray, Cromarty and Dornoch.

Throughout their development, sufficient money was not the sole consideration in achieving successful administration of estuary ferries. It is true that money was required to meet practicalities including the ferry rental or licence, the provision of an adequate boat with suitable amenities, payment of skilled ferrymen, the building of appropriate landing places and access roads but, theoretically at least, much of that outlay could be recouped from the charges made for passengers and freight.⁸³ Ferry proprietors, licensees and ferrymen expected a financial return from the operation of a ferry service and therefore did not readily accede to changes involving additional expense in the short term in spite of the possibility of receiving an increased income in the long term. Consequently, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, legislation designed to improve estuary ferry services, particularly those carrying the greatest volume of traffic on the Forth and the Tay, was largely ignored by the ferrymen. Parliament, the Privy Council and other legal courts contributed to this legislation and a series of acts⁸⁴ was passed to relieve "the great and heavie

oppression due to the lieges of this realm and especially to the ferries of Kinghorn, Queensferry and Dundee, in taking their fraught".⁸⁵ The difficulties of implementing this legislation was clear as the acts contained repetitious decrees but, even so, little change had taken place at these ferries by the late seventeenth century. In 1687, for example, Kirkcaldy Town Council resorted to confiscating "the sails fra the trees of their boats" in order to impress their authority on the ferryman if they failed to comply with established regulations.⁸⁶

In the late seventeenth century, greater attention began to be paid to the need for accountability. To that end, Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply were amalgamated⁸⁷ in an attempt to provide greater weight of authority at a local level, not only to implement legislation but also to make decisions perceived to be relevant to each separate locality. However, as both Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply retained separate remits, confusion arose regarding lines of demarcation thus weakening the anticipated authority of the combined organisations. In addition, the jurisdiction of Courts of Regality in connection with ferries was not replaced by Justices of the Peace until 1746 so there were still no patterns of authority clearly outlined concerning the administration of estuary ferries. In spite of the 1669 Act⁸⁸ the committees of the Justices of the Peace were lethargic and little benefit accrued. Later, the ineffectiveness of Justices of the Peace and Commissioners

of Supply combined Committees had some connection with the composition of these bodies whose members were drawn from wealthy landowners who, in the main, perceived little advantage in altruistically pursuing change. Burghs and proprietors holding rights of ferry and therefore perhaps with a vested interest, continued to demonstrate a level of concern regarding ferry services which fluctuated according to the degree of publicity to which the ferry was exposed. In 1684, for example, the Privy Council considered the petition by the Town Councils of Burntisland and Kinghorn complaining that Kirkcaldy Town Council had permitted an excessive number of ferry boats to ply the Forth estuary to Newhaven and Leith thereby undercutting their ferry services. There followed a review of the ferries at all three termini, together with others in the vicinity, which resulted in new regulations being determined by the three burghs concerned.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, in 1762, a test case between Kinghorn Town Council and the local committee of the Justices of the Peace then firmly established that the right of management of such a ferry, together with the formulation of rates and regulations, lay with justices and not with a Town council.⁹⁰

To some extent, the appointment of public committees formalised a response to the need for accountability concerning ferry services, but this was not sufficient to encompass all the necessary aspects and did not take into account previous manifestations, ineffectual as they may have been. Ecclesiastical pressure, for example, had, from time to time, attempted to make ferry proprietors and ferrymen accountable to Kirk Sessions if

ferries were to be permitted to sail on Sundays. In 1635, any ferryman taking a boat across the Queensferry Passage on a Sunday was liable to be fined "for the first fault 12/- Scots... and if they shall faill in the same fault any time, they shall stand at the Kirk door in sack clothe and make confession of their fault before the congregation".⁹¹ Similarly, at Burntisland in 1672, ferry boats were forbidden to sail unless permitted by "the Minister".⁹² Also, in 1720 and 1721, the magistrates of Dundee solicited advice from the Kirk Session of Forgan, a parish on the south side of the Tay adjacent to Ferry Port-on-Craig, regarding "What measures may be thought most fit for suppressing the profanation of the Lord's Day by passing over the water...".⁹³

Ferry services were required to be accountable on grounds other than maintaining certain religious standards as the freight they carried frequently came under the scrutiny of officers of the customs and excise. In 1655, Thomas Tucker, a member of the Commission for Customs and Excise in England, was sent by Cromwell to assess the position in Scotland. He travelled extensively and compiled a report which formed the basis for legislation after the Treaty of Union in 1707. Tucker noted that the Clyde estuary was served by "a collector, a cheque and four wayters who looke to Renfrew, Arskin (Erskine) on the south and Kirkepatrick on the north of the Clyde, with Dumbarton... at the head of the Firth".⁹⁴ According to the information supplied by Tucker, Scottish and English customs and excise services were unified in Articles 6 and 7 of the

Treaty of Union and it was decreed that the English system be applied thereafter.⁹⁵ The Scots did not welcome this amalgamation and "smuggling became, and remained for much of the eighteenth century, a national sport in Scotland".⁹⁶ In the late eighteenth century, the dramatic increase in the production of whisky, particularly in the north, exacerbated the extent to which smuggling took place and ferries on the Firths of Moray, Cromarty and Dornoch, in particular, were at hand to transport the smuggled goods, in spite of being subject to spasmodic searches by officers of the Excise who were occasionally successful. Arrests were made at the Kessock Ferry when, for example, "three horses laden with nearly six ankers of smuggled whisky" were apprehended on the north side of the Moray Firth.⁹⁷ Ferries on the Forth estuary, too, were required to be accountable to customs officials during the Napoleonic wars when the shipping of grain was firmly controlled. It was legislated that "all vessels shipping grain ... were obliged to enter a bond ... for the landing of goods at the destined port, even although they be merely transporting it from Kinghorn to Leith".⁹⁸ Ferry boats were therefore included in the same category as sea-going vessels and the captain of a ferry boat transporting even small quantities of grain was required to produce a certificate issued by customs officers to permit the grain to be unloaded. Ferry boat captains frequently forgot to obtain these bonds, making themselves liable to be fined and causing delay and inconvenience to the travelling public.

Eventually, the jurisdiction hitherto exercised by customs officials over Forth estuary ferries was rescinded and ferry boats were free of "any clearance or warrant from the officers of His Majesty's customs".⁹⁹

Accountability was highly ranked as an essential quality required of estuary ferry services by the Post Office which demanded more frequent and dependable services to sustain regular and reliable deliveries of mail. Delays at ferries were frequent in the late eighteenth century, particularly on the Forth estuary, and in order to overcome these irregularities the Postal Surveyor for Scotland, Francis Ronaldson, personally supervised the allocation of ferry licences for the Queensferry Passage in 1796.¹⁰⁰ Friction between ferrymen and post office officials continued but these disputes only served to highlight the effort necessary to encourage those directly concerned with estuary ferry services to become more aware of the need for accountability if ferry services were to respond positively to the changes in the economy and in social attitude taking place at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was said, in 1802, that "The traveller, having repassed the Forth, finds such inconvenience in landing that he greatly wonders how it could possibly happen that so glaring an impediment at a passage so much frequented as the Queensferry has been suffered to remain".¹⁰¹ It was not only the inconvenience of ferry landing places that drew public comment, more importantly the prospect of any loss of life was a serious concern. A fatal accident such as that on the Tay estuary in 1815 when a ferry boat sank,

drowning seventeen people,¹⁰² again raised the issue of accountability concerning ferry services.

Pressure for greater accountability of ferry services from those using estuary ferries, either in a public or private capacity, had long resulted in a spasmodic and insubstantial response from legislators, including Parliament, the Privy Council, Courts of Regality and later, Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply. However, in the mid-eighteenth century, the Court of Admiralty at Dunfermline conceived the notion that the estuary ferry at Queensferry be supervised by an "able carpenter and sailor" who would be directly responsible to the judges of the Court and would submit a written report to them twice yearly.¹⁰³ The idea of creating a post whereby the practical administration of a ferry service would be vested in a supervisor or inspector who would not only liaise between legislators and ferrymen, but would be directly accountable to the legislators, was a concept that was only accepted gradually. It was 1805 before Dundee Town Council also appointed an inspector to examine Tay estuary ferry boats every month¹⁰⁴ but in the same decade Captain James Ross of the Royal Navy was given the post of superintendent of the Queensferry Passage.¹⁰⁵ This appointment confirmed the need for such a post on the estuary ferries of the Forth and Tay and more superintendents were soon employed at Kirkcaldy,¹⁰⁶ Pettycur¹⁰⁷ and Dundee.¹⁰⁸ This difficult job was frequently assigned to ex-naval officers whose seamanship and leadership was undoubted and whose appointments

proved to be respected and successful. At last, it was possible to implement legislation and to exercise some degree of accountability, a position which was reached in time to accommodate the acceleration in changing circumstances affecting estuary ferry services as the nineteenth century advanced.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, surveys by Stevenson and Telford recommended extensive renovations to access roads, landing places and ferry boats for estuary ferries, particularly those operating on the Forth and Tay. The realisation that steam would shortly augment, if not entirely replace, sail for the propulsion of ferry boats added a sense of urgency in making the necessary adaptations. Considering the laissez-faire approach previously adopted in attempting to develop ferry services, a great deal was achieved in the first quarter of the nineteenth century through appropriate legislation. In order to facilitate this legislation a new system for the administration of ferries was introduced by the commissioning of Ferry Trustee Committees whose work paralleled Road Trustee Committees set up at approximately the same time. Ferry Trustee Committees, appointed for the Forth and Tay estuary ferries in 1809,¹⁰⁹ replaced the former proprietors, a transition not lightly accepted by these proprietors, particularly those of the Queensferry Passage who sought to protect their own interests by insisting on receiving substantial compensation.¹¹⁰ In the same year, the Clyde Navigation Trust was established with wider powers which encompassed the direction of all shipping on

the Clyde. Nevertheless, the interests of these ferry services were protected by the Clyde Navigation Trust as an act, passed in 1825, illustrates by stating that the proposed changes included in it should not "prejudice in any degree the established ferries of Govan, Renfrew, Erskine and the West Ferry".¹¹¹

This new hierarchy of administration assumed control over the way in which ferrymen operated ferries. The volume of ferry traffic, ever increasing in the nineteenth century on a ferry such as that plying between Newport and Dundee on the Tay, included the annual transportation of approximately 85,000 passengers; 1,515 carriages; 4,254 loaded carts and 56,362 horses, cattle and sheep, providing a revenue of £3,790.^{112, 113} Therefore, with regard to ferries on the Forth, the Tay and the Clyde, in particular, the accountability of ferrymen, in their capacity as servants to the public, needed to be closely monitored.

Traditionally, ferrymen were frequently the subject of complaint by those using the ferries. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, ferrymen plied their boats as they saw fit without much regard for those they transported, in spite of complaints regarding their conduct reaching the Convention of Royal Burghs¹¹⁴ and the Privy Council.¹¹⁵ Even Charles I was sufficiently disturbed to order the Privy Council in 1635 on the grounds that "persons and goods are sometimes cast away ... by the unskilfulness and disorderly way of ferrymen who have no order at all...".¹¹⁶ The king's concern was not unfounded as, in 1633, he had experienced the loss of thirty royal servants when

a ferry boat sank while transporting them across the Forth estuary.¹¹⁷ Earlier, in 1589, in a similar accident, many members of the household of James VI, including Jean Kennedy, formerly Maid of Honour to Queen Mary, were lost.¹¹⁸ In the eighteenth century, interactions between ferrymen, those using ferries and those administering them centred on common issues, namely, illegal ferrying by unlicensed boatmen, illegal prices charged for fares, excessive numbers of boats plying the passage and ferrymen accepting cargoes too large or too heavy in relation to the size of boat. These illegal practices were often perpetrated on fair and market days,¹¹⁹ especially at estuary ferries such as Alloa, Perth, Kessock and Dumbarton where markets proliferated during the eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century, new regulations incorporating greater security of employment for ferrymen, together with more acceptable working conditions and more emphasis on safety, protected ferrymen although simultaneously undermining any autonomy they might still have wanted. Ferry boats were allocated larger crews, with pinnaces and yawls required to have a complement of four men, even though it was sometimes deemed expedient to "fill up the boat crews that are short with boys, as three men and one boy are sufficient",¹²⁰ thus saving the expense of paying the higher wage of a fourth man. Furthermore, the work load of ferrymen diminished with the building of new low-water piers, recommended by Stevenson and Telford,¹²¹ and the increase in size of boat as carriages and carts were enabled to drive on to the ferry boat on one side of the river and off again on the opposite side without the horses

having to be unhitched.¹²² In addition, it was possible for some ferrymen to retire with the expectation of receiving a small pension,¹²³ although this was not a universal practice, even when crews were more firmly monitored after the introduction of regulations connected with the operation of steam-powered boats.

The consequence of building a boat propelled by an engine and not by sail was that appropriately qualified personnel had to be employed to operate it. Therefore, ferrymen possessing engineering skills were essential members of ferry crews after the 1820s when the first steam-powered boats were plying the estuaries of the Clyde, Forth and Tay. A ferry crew manning a steam-powered ferry boat at that time consisted of a coxswain, an engineer, five or six seamen and a fireman.¹²⁴ Increased consideration was given to the quality of men employed because the Ferry Trustee Committees recognised that the prosperity of a ferry service greatly depended on the way in which it was conducted and it was laid down that "all persons under their (Ferry Trustee Committee) orders do pay strict attention to this duty: that they shall each, in his own department, use the utmost civility to every person frequenting the ferry...".¹²⁵ It seems that this instruction was obeyed as ferrymen, in 1830, were described as "sober, orderly and industrious men"¹²⁶ and, more than that, were respected as "experienced seamen, well acquainted with this navigation, generally regular in their habits and polite in their attention to passengers".¹²⁷ Apparently, ferry men, with the advent of steam, had eschewed

their notoriety and had finally acquired a reputation equal to the probes of those searching for accountability.

The need for estuary ferry services to be accountable was also strongly linked with the part these ferries played in the national communication network of Scotland. Main roads, access roads and estuary ferries were interdependent in facilitating travel and the movement of goods from one part of the country to another. Therefore, when delays occurred at ferry locations the communication system failed to function satisfactorily causing inconvenience and frustration and, in some cases, loss of revenue. Causes of delay lay principally in four areas, namely, the existence or condition of roads, both main routes and access roads; the existence or condition and suitability of landing places; the size, type and amenities of ferry boats and the nature of the goods to be transported. Until carts came into common use in the late seventeenth century, ferry boats had, in the main, only to transport men, beasts and goods. The shipping of beasts, particularly horses, proved to be a vexatious problem because of the non-existence of proper landing places. Passengers at some ferry locations were forced to board ferry boats from slippery seaweed-covered rocks or 'craigs',¹²⁸ a custom from which Ferry Port-on-Craig on the Tay estuary was named.¹²⁹ At other ferry termini, such as Kinghorn on the Forth estuary, passengers were required to wade or be carried to the waiting boat through shallow waters from a flat, sandy shore.¹³⁰ By the late seventeenth century, ferry boats still did not have "sufficient bridges on shoare for

receaving of man, horse and cattel...".¹³¹ Nevertheless, the vagaries of the tide and weather did present technical difficulties in building and maintaining ferry landing places on estuaries and even in the late eighteenth century, ferry boats on the Forth estuary could not "reach any landing place at low water in Spring tides"¹³² because of the lack of depth of water. This was also a problem in erecting suitable landing places on the Clyde estuary but in this case it was due to a different cause, the continual accumulation of silt and sand.¹³³

These difficulties concerning ferry landing places could be met by selecting a solution from four options which included the renovation of any existing pier or quay, the erection of new piers or quays, the removal of the landing site to a different location and the termination of the ferry services. Different estuary ferries had recourse to different solutions at different times. At Burntisland on the Forth estuary, for example, the burgh Council astutely manoeuvred a position in 1651 whereby Cromwell, who occupied the town at the time, built a quay there for ferry boats¹³⁴ but no attempt was made to maintain it, so by the 1790s it was in great need of repair. It was hoped then that "the gentlemen of the county" were not only going to subscribe to the cost of the renovation of this quay but that an equivalent source of finance would also be found to meet the cost of repairs on the quay at Newhaven,¹³⁵ the southern terminal of the Burntisland ferry service. Similarly, the piers serving the ferry boats at Kessock on the Moray Firth were re-built by the proprietor, Grant of Redcastle, in the 1790s¹³⁶ and extended

by his successor, Sir William Fettes, in the 1820s,¹³⁷ to facilitate "travellers with horses and carriages, drovers with their cattle and the transportation of agricultural produce...".¹³⁸

The erection of new piers was an essential adjunct to the employment of steam-powered ferry boats on estuaries in order to accommodate the draught of water necessary to the successful manoeuvring of these boats. Quays on the Forth and Tay estuaries in particular were subject to review by several surveyors to plan suitable landing places for the docking of steam-powered ferry boats, an eventuality perceived to be inevitable in view of the successful introduction of the steam-powered 'Comet' on the Clyde estuary in 1812.¹³⁹ Existing piers, such as they were, had been constructed with a slope calculated to "admit the approach of sailing boats at all times of the tide"¹⁴⁰ but this was not a construction suitable for the approach of steam boats, therefore a large number of new quays had to be built. In 1810, Rennie recommended that new piers be built on the north side of the Queensferry Passage, at Port Edgar on the south side, at Newhalls (Hawes Pier) and at Portnuick, where the rock would have to be blasted to give greater depth of water.¹⁴¹ The total expenditure for completing these improvements on the Forth estuary was £30,792.6.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d, almost a third more than had originally been estimated.¹⁴² Stevenson, and after him, Telford submitted additional reports and recommendations concerning the improvement of landing places for the Tay estuary ferries involving an eventual cost of

£8,820.11.0.¹⁴³ This sum was readily accepted because Telford's plan, which was finally implemented, incorporated "the improvement of the Ferry at Dundee with that of the harbour".¹⁴⁴

Transferring a ferry from one site to another, together with the building of new quays, proved to be the most effective solution to difficulties surrounding landing places on the Clyde estuary. In the 1790s, the Erskine ferry location was "removed to more proper stations and it is now a very convenient and useful ferry".¹⁴⁵ The opposite landing place on the south bank was re-built too and "is absolutely commodious".¹⁴⁶ Major reconstruction also took place at the Renfrew ferry where that ferry location was "removed about a quarter of a mile further down river".¹⁴⁷ The considerable expense involved in the re-allocation of estuary ferry sites might have been used to supersede the ferry by building a bridge or saved by allowing the ferry to fall into disuse. These alternatives were both adopted at different estuary ferry locations. At Perth, in 1772, the ferry there was replaced by a bridge, built at a cost of £11,298.17.6,¹⁴⁸ and at Ferry Port-on-Craig, on the south side of the Tay estuary, the ferry service there was allowed to dwindle and die because Telford, in his survey, totally disapproved of "any proposed extension at Craig",¹⁴⁹ thus denying those using the ferry the expected amenities for easier travel and preventing the employment of larger, better designed and steam-powered ferry boats.

New steam-powered ferry boats were specially built to accommodate the increased number and size of horse-drawn vehicles and were enabled to "be placed, by the sole instrumentality of invisible machinery, close to the pier" with "two great folding gangways being lowered down and the side being thus thrown open cattle, horses, carriages and passengers all walk out and find themselves on dry land...".¹⁵⁰ Across the width of some parts of an estuary, such as Renfrew, Erskine and Govan on the Clyde, adequately sized boats which were chain-driven functioned successfully in the early nineteenth century but were later replaced by steam-powered boats. However, steam-powered boats were not always found to be suitable and at the Kessock ferry on the Moray Firth, an attempt to employ steam-driven ferry boats was unsuccessful because the water was too shallow at the landing places and so it was necessary to resort to "former boats, slightly improved".¹⁵¹

The quantity of traffic at estuary ferries which justified the expense of the transition from sail to steam-powered boats, with all the accompanying adjustments, was facilitated by the improved system of roads throughout Scotland. From the construction of Wade's military roads in the eighteenth century to the turnpike roads of the nineteenth century, a steady improvement was seen in the number and construction of roads, a position which only benefited estuary ferry services as the fluctuating development of the ferry locations of Woodhaven and Newport on the south side of the Tay estuary illustrates. In

1790, a new turnpike road was built to Woodhaven making that location the "principal ferry". However, in 1806, another turnpike road was built to Newport which then made Newport "the nearer ferry". Consequently, this location became increasingly popular and usurped the position of Woodhaven as the "principal ferry" on the south side of the Tay estuary.¹⁵²

Until the late nineteenth century, the rapidly developing railway network in Scotland depended totally upon estuary ferries to form the essential links over important water passages, in the same way that major roads required ferry services to constitute vital connections between one area of Scotland and another. Estuary ferry services had evolved sufficiently to meet the growing social and commercial demands of the nineteenth century. The administration of these ferries had settled into a recognised and reputable pattern, albeit some with a continuous financial struggle. Regulations were diligently applied; the safety and welfare of those transported being a major concern. By the mid-nineteenth century, estuary ferry services had indeed established a reputation as a reliable public service.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SEA LOCH FERRIES

The contour of the north and west coastlines of Scotland posed difficult and, in some cases, insurmountable problems in the formation of routes of communication. In these areas the deep penetration of long arms of the sea into the land mass resulted in routes which either circumscribed the water or incorporated the use of ferry boats. In these remote areas the economic, social and political development taking place in other parts of Scotland was lacking. In addition, local influence was not directed to the provision of easier access with the result that the improvement and extension of communication routes was minimal. This chapter is concerned with the role played by ferries on sea lochs as links in the communication system of the western Highlands.

The landscape of the west coast of Scotland was formed as a consequence of glacial activity.¹ The indentations made by the sea vary in depth, length and breadth and act either as barriers to or facilitators of communication, according to the way in which they are used. In most cases, these inlets are known as 'lochs' and include Lochs Broom, Torridon, Carron, Alsh, Sunart, Eil, Linnhe, Leven, Creran, Etive, Tarbert, Fyne, Goil and Long. Such lochs, open to the tides and storms of the Atlantic Ocean at one end, frequently narrowed to the confines of a strait, over which a ferry often plied, at the other. The combined effect of tide and narrowness of channel at such ferry locations as Connel and Shian on Loch Etive and Loch Creran

respectively, made crossings dangerous and difficult to navigate. The combination of the rough terrain, the formidable waters and the climate of gales and high rainfall posed additional obstacles in establishing routes along which people and goods could be transported.

The inhabitants of the north-west Highlands, a peripheral region of Scotland not only in geographical terms but also according to size of population, agricultural potential and commercial opportunities, not infrequently reacted to a sense of isolation with a political autonomy² and way of life which central government sometimes found difficulty in understanding or containing. Therefore, the factors which must be considered in analysing the siting of ferry locations in this area are related predominately to local requirements and conditions. Ferries were located where the shortest distance was to be found across a sea loch as it narrowed either at the entrance or the exit to it. The land at these points is usually low-lying and therefore sometimes offered relatively easy access to such ferries. At the same time, some ferry sites, including those at Dornie, Corpach and Ballachulish, served to guard the entrance to more than one sea loch which made them not only convenient central points for trade and communication but also gave them strategic importance in times of conflict. An additional factor influencing the position of ferry sites on sea lochs was the proximity of landing places for sea-going vessels sailing to the Western Islands and beyond for trading, military and other purposes. In spite of a paucity of

documentary evidence regarding sea loch ferries, the number that does appear in the records is an indication not only of their importance as a method of transport but also as an essential link in the fragmented structure of communication routes within the west Highlands. It was not until the nineteenth century that roads were properly established between the Highlands and the Lowlands. Previously, routes were few, ill-defined and little frequented so that sea loch ferries had little importance inland beyond the region in which they operated.

The geographical location of the Western Isles in juxtaposition to the west Highland coastline resulted in a strong affinity between the inhabitants of these areas, reinforced by a shared language, Gaelic, and a common religion. This bond was further reinforced by the natural barrier of high hills which formed a separation from the Lowlands. Consequently, whereas the Lowlanders responded to the sovereignty of the King of Scotland, the West Highlanders and Islanders experienced more divided loyalty.³ It was not until 1493 that James IV, then King of Scotland, succeeded in asserting his royal authority in the Highlands and Islands after the defeat and subsequent demise of John, Lord of the Isles at that time.⁴ The King's attempts to enlist the support of the principal chiefs in the Highlands met with such limited success that he finally awarded viceregal powers to the earls of Argyll (Chief of the Clan Campbell) and Huntly (Chief of the Clan Gordon)⁵ which award marked the beginning of the aggrandisement of the

Clan Campbell. Thereafter, the Campbells obtained, through aggression, marriage, royal favour and diplomacy, sweeping powers and the earls of Argyll controlled most of the western Highlands south of Ardnamurchan, in addition to the possession of lands in other areas of Scotland. There is little doubt, therefore, that the rights of sea loch ferries in the western Highlands at that time were concentrated in the hands of members of the Clan Campbell or were directly in the possession of the earl of Argyll.

During the sixteenth century, the lack of ecclesiastical institutions in the area and the absence of any burghs⁶ (the burgh of Tarbert established in the fourteenth century had lapsed),⁷ limited the demand for sea loch ferry services in the western Highlands. The greater social, civil and commercial development found in the more highly populated eastern areas of Scotland was in no way reflected in the western Highlands. Consequently, people in these isolated communities had little desire or incentive to move simply from one cluster of poor habitations to another. However, there were a number of stone built castles inhabited by different clan chiefs, with some, including those at Eilean Donan, Inverlochy, Achadun and Dunstaffnage⁸, situated at locations near where sea loch ferries became established. Doubtless, this would facilitate the coming and going of clansmen. At that time, the domestic needs of the inhabitants throughout the region were met, although frequently at a poverty-stricken level, by the gathering of products to be found in the surrounding

country-side; for example, stones for buildings, bracken for thatch, birch and larch wood for utensils and peat for fuel. In addition, oats and bere, although poor in quality and quantity, could be grown, fish was available from the sea and a few cattle could be reared. Such was the shortfall between the quality and quantity of the end product and the intensity of labour required to produce it that the people were forced to concentrate on survival with little energy or goods to spare for trading purposes. The fairs and markets established on a regular basis in the Lowlands did not feature in the economy of the western Highlands at this time and consequently traffic at existing sea loch ferries was light and irregular, with no demand to improve or increase ferry services.

After the Union of the Crowns in 1603, followed in 1609 by the signing of the Statutes of Iona, which resulted in governmental control over the clan chiefs, some Lowland influences did infiltrate into the western Highlands.⁹ Nevertheless, the structure of society there continued to be dominated by clan chiefs who, as landlords, could still command immediate military service from their tenants at any time and employ favoured kinsmen as tacksmen to conduct business with tenants in ways which usually protected the interest of the chief.¹⁰ The hierarchy of status, including craftsmen, merchants and burgesses, that had emerged in Lowland society, failed to apply to the western Highlands, principally because of the prevailing strong two-tier system

consisting of clan chief (supported by his tacksmen) and clansmen. Furthermore, the combined skills of crofter, fisherman and soldier, necessary for every male member of each small community,¹¹ precluded the need for dependency upon specialisation emerging from the requirements of the growing urbanisation in the Lowlands. The strength of the clan and the struggle for Western Highlanders to remain politically independent was further demonstrated towards the end of the seventeenth century by the Glencoe massacre (1692).¹² At this time, traffic at the sea loch ferry of Ballachulish in the neighbourhood of Glencoe was substantially increased. This flurry of activity which temporarily replaced the usual infrequent use of the Ballachulish ferry, was not untypical of the fluctuating pattern of the work-load undertaken in the ferry services in the western Highlands during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In addition to the transportation of military personnel and local clansmen, sea loch ferries were used to convey goods stolen from the Lowlands to such an extent that an order was issued to secure ferries against the passage of such goods by night. This applied to ferry boats located at ferry sites including those at the Water of Awe, Shian, Corran, Ardgour, Ballachulish,¹³ Ardchattane and Connel.¹⁴

The conflict, perpetuated by one issue or another, between the Highlands and the Lowlands made central control of the Highland area difficult to implement, yet the almost imperceptible change in agriculture,¹⁵ commercial enterprise

and attitude that was taking place in the western Highlands at the beginning of the eighteenth century was the forerunner of wider change as the century progressed. The Union of the Parliaments, in 1707, acted more as a deterrent than as a promoter of change with the unsettling and disruptive Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745 following in its wake. Until the 1750s, the economy of the western Highlands continued to rely on an agricultural system which was subject to environmental constraints, a traditional infield and outfield management of land, primitive tools, lack of invested capital, insufficient labour and proprietors and tenants holding conservative attitudes. In the 1750s, change was accelerated by the convergence of a number of factors including an increase in population, the appointment of the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates, an improved banking and cash credit system, the rising demand for cattle in English markets, an increase in the price of cattle and a better organised system of cattle trading.¹⁶ Thus, the cattle export trade from the western Islands and Highlands expanded rapidly in the mid-eighteenth century with a resulting stimulation of the economy there, together with increased income for proprietors, greater earning powers for tenants and drovers, improved methods of cattle rearing and more attention given to improved methods of agriculture including the erection of enclosures, the application of fertiliser, the introduction of crop rotation and new crops and the acquisition of new, more suitable machinery.¹⁷ It

is reported that fully 100,000 beasts were exported annually from the Islands and western Highlands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries¹⁸ and as these great droves moved regularly southwards the routes they followed became firmly established. For example, cattle from the Islands that landed at Kilchoan in Ardnamurchan were driven along the north shore of Loch Sunart, across the 'current of Lochaber' at the Corran ferry to the ferry plying between north and south Ballachulish. Thereafter a choice of routes faced drovers as they could either continue up Glen Coe, across Rannoch moor to Crianlarich, then south to the tryst at Crieff or they could pursue a less stark way by driving south along the east shore of Loch Linnhe to cross Loch Creran at the Shian, Creagan or Rugarve ferries, follow Loch Etive to cross at the Bonawe ferry, pass over Loch Awe at the Loch Awe ferry and thence to Crianlarich and Crieff. The cattle trade dramatically increased the traffic at all these ferries. This created difficulties as these landing places, boats and ferryman were ill-equipped to deal with such an influx and inevitable delay, inconvenience and sometimes danger resulted.

During the late eighteenth century, kelp, an alkaline ash extracted from seaweed and used in the processing of glass and soap, was exported in large quantities from the shores of the Western Islands and the coastline of the west Highlands. This trade increased in volume in the late 1790s as kelp prices rose and ferries such as those at Dornie, Connel and Inveraray were involved in the transport of the product. The major cash flow

initiated by the sale of kelp was appropriated by the landowners for their own personal use, so when the kelp market suddenly declined early in the 1820s, little benefit had accrued for the local populace.¹⁹ Nevertheless, capital investment was attracted to the area to utilise another readily available natural resource, namely timber. Timber was necessary to produce the charcoal required to smelt iron and the wood available in forests in the vicinity of Invergarry, Taynuilt and Furnace respectively persuaded several Lancashire companies to invest capital to develop furnaces at these locations. In 1727, the Backbarrow Company built the first modern blast furnace in Scotland at Invergarry. Ore for this furnace was shipped to Corpach, an industrial activity which greatly increased the demands made on the ferry there which plied across Loch Linnhe.²⁰ In 1753, the Bonawe or Taynuilt furnace was established and the existing village was expanded to include a school, an inn, a church and church hall, a bakery, laundry, meal store and stables and two blocks of twenty workers' cottages, all erected by the Newland Company which operated the furnace.²¹ The needs of this enlarged community greatly increased the volume of traffic at Bonawe ferry as an essential link on the communication route across Loch Etive. In 1775, the Duddon Company constructed a third furnace at Furnace on the west side of Loch Fyne and an important ferry plied from that location to Strachur and Creggans on the opposite side of the loch.²² At the same time some small concerns, already functioning in the area, received additional investment in attempts to improve their commercial viability. For example,

the slate quarry at Ballachulish, started in 1694, was extended and for a time proved to be a viable business with an annual output of almost three million slates.²³ In 1786, the British Fisheries Society supported a proposal to establish a number of centres and Ullapool was a selected site. A subsidiary industry in spinning nets was also introduced there and a Customs House was built but although business continued until 1848 the Customs House was removed in 1812 and the enterprise was not considered a success.²⁴ A number of private fishing developments were begun but none succeeded. The duke of Argyll, following the example of a number of his contemporaries in other parts of Scotland, envisaged the effect on the region of establishing a 'new town' at Inveraray with all the commercial, economic and social advantages accruing from such an enterprise. Building was begun in 1740 and in 1751 the opening of a spinning school followed but escalating costs relating to the purchase of flax, as it could not readily be grown locally, contributed to failure.²⁵ By the early nineteenth century these failures resulted in little return from invested capital and, as the diminished profit from the rapidly decreasing cattle and kelp trades had forced landowners to sell their estates to avoid bankruptcy, the overall economy in the western Highlands was in a poor state. The only solution apparent at the time was to develop a thriving sheep-farming trade.²⁶ The high price of wool on the international market made the rearing of sheep attractive to many landowners who adopted the policy of evicting

tenants in order to use their land for sheep farming. The Sutherland Clearances illustrated the human deprivation involved in such a policy. Crofters were forced to try to make a poor living on infertile, coastal land or to migrate to other parts of Scotland or even to emigrate in spite of having had no previous experience of travelling more than a few miles.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, roads in the western Highlands were still mainly tracks used by nothing larger than pack-horses. Cattle and sheep droves followed particular routes over the countryside and did not require constructed roads to facilitate their movement. The lack of coal mining and the development of new industry precluded the need for the transport of goods, but also the lack of wheeled vehicles, even carts, were important factors in the consideration of establishing a better system of communication. Commenting on "the want of proper carriages" as "one of the great obstacles to the progress of agriculture" Walker states in 1812, that "having no carts, their corn, straw, manures, fuel, stone and timber, sea-weed, kelp, the articles necessary for the fisheries and every other bulk commodity must be transported from one place to another on horseback or a sledge".²⁷ No attempt was made to extend the turnpike roads, prevalent in the Lowlands by the end of the eighteenth century. The appropriateness of constructing a turnpike road in the West Highlands was indeed doubtful as the little traffic using it would not have provided sufficient return from the toll to maintain it. In spite of the rise in population from the 1750s,²⁸ usually a prerequisite

for establishing a pattern of modernisation, the attempted changes in agriculture and penetrations into various industrial concerns had not been sustained, with a consequent stagnation of cash flow. Therefore, local funding for road and bridge building, together with ferry development or even maintenance was, in most cases, unavailable. Nevertheless, the development of new technology, the acceleration of industry, the expansion of trade and the social mobilisation taking place in the Lowlands at the beginning of the nineteenth century, turned attention to the different conditions prevailing in the western Highlands. Even in 1754, Grant of Monymusk was endeavouring to "rouz gentlemen to serious thought and application"²⁹ to initiate road improvement but no similar promoter was to be found in the western Highlands although the Argyllshire Commissioners of Supply and Justices of the Peace did indicate some awareness of the needs of the area. However, in 1801, Telford was commissioned to survey roads in the Highland region. He considered that his main task was to stop emigration and was convinced that this could be achieved if a better system of communication was developed in the Highlands. He therefore proposed to build a canal through the Great Glen as well as a network of roads and better harbours for coastal ports.³⁰

There was the hope that new roads would not only improve internal communication in the western Highlands and provide easier access to the rest of Scotland but that these roads would "be of great benefit and utility to the Highlands in general and particularly so to the Western Islands".³¹

Proposals for the construction of new roads including one

from Kinlochmoidart on the west coast to Corran in Ardgour, "from whence there is a commodious and safe ferry to the military road from Fort William to the Low Country",³² another stretching along the side of Loch Carron to Strome ferry³³ and yet another from Invergarry and the ferry there to Kinlochhourn in the west.³⁴ When these roads were constructed, the easier access to the ferries provided more convenient travel and increased the volume of traffic carried. In contrast to the position regarding river ferries in other parts of Scotland, no ferry in the western Highlands was superseded by the building of a bridge at that time. Previously, in the middle of the eighteenth century, a bridge was built at Loch Awe thus replacing the ferry there but ferries plying across sea lochs remained as an essential part of the communication system. Indeed, Telford's recommendations to repair ferry quays were carried out, including quays at Ballachulish, Shian, Connel and Bonawe.³⁵ A steady flow of traffic was by then established at these ferries and at each two men and two boats were employed.³⁶ The popularity of the western Highlands initiated by the recordings of early travellers, substantiated by writers such as Sir Walter Scott and Dorothy Wordsworth in the nineteenth century and perpetuated by the Victorians, particularly with the introduction of railways, ensured that the volume of traffic undertaken at many sea loch ferry locations did not diminish as the nineteenth century progressed.

The nature of change can only be evaluated and understood

when subjected to detailed examination. Therefore, in order to attempt to interpret the almost imperceptible change in the development of ferries on sea lochs between 1603 and the advent of steam, it is necessary to study the individual characteristics of the ferries involved. As records were sparse regarding ferries on sea lochs on the north and north-west coasts, viz: the Kyle of Tongue, Loch Eriboll and Loch Glendhu, ferries on the sea lochs serving the west Highlands form the focus of the discussion in this chapter. In late fifteenth century Scotland, the landed influence was wielded by a few great families and in the south western Highlands the Clan Campbell, under the leadership of the earls of Argyll, held sway.³⁷ The free use of the Creggans to Inveraray ferry by the earl of Argyll in the sixteenth century, in journeying between Glasgow and the south and Inveraray, together with the fact that he owned the surrounding land, was a strong indication that the earl possessed the rights on that ferry across Loch Fyne. In 1563, the earl of Argyll escorted Mary, Queen of Scots, and her retinue by that route to visit Inveraray Castle.³⁸ The assumption that the earl of Argyll was proprietor of ferries in the Western Highlands is verified by the documentation regarding ownership of ferries recorded in Macfarlane's Geographical Collections. According to these records, with reference to the late seventeenth century, the duke of Argyll was proprietor of the ferries of "Portchregan on the Northsyde of Lochfyne", "Portsonighan" (Portsonachan) on Loch Awe,³⁹ "the ferrie called Gonnell"⁴⁰ at the entrance

to Loch Etive, "the ferrie of the Sion betwixt Beandirloch and the Appin",⁴¹ the ferry of Bonawe and "the ferrie of Lochaw", although at this ferry a clansman "the laird of Inveraw called MacDonachie, alias Campbell" was named as proprietor.⁴² Later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the more extensive recordings in the minute books of the local Commissioners of Supply and Justices of the Peace reiterated the continued possession of the land and ferry rights of the clan Campbell. For example, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, James Campbell was the proprietor of the ferry at Silvercraigs on the west side of Loch Fyne and John Campbell owned the other ferry on the opposite shore; General John Campbell of Strachur possessed the rights of the ferry of Creggans;⁴³ Donald Campbell of Airds and Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine held responsibility for the Shian ferry across Loch Creran;⁴⁴ and General Campbell of Monzie was the proprietor of Portinsherrish ferry on Loch Awe.⁴⁵

Ferry proprietors in the western Highlands, in common with their counterparts in other areas of Scotland, viewed ownership of a ferry as a viable source of income, although the Campbells may have been less optimistic in their outlook because of the less frequent use of many of their ferries. The best administered ferry in the region appeared to have been that plying between Inveraray and St. Catherines, perhaps a not unexpected situation in view of the proximity of the dukes of Argyll, housed in nearby Inveraray Castle, who undoubtedly

made frequent use of the ferry. The transactions concerning the administration of this ferry are recorded from 1680 in Inveraray Town Council and from 1775 in Inveraray Burgh Council minute books. Contracts for the let of the Inveraray ferry include many similarities, not only to ferry tacks elsewhere in the Highlands but also to ferries in other parts of Scotland, particularly those located on rivers. At Inveraray, from at least 1710, the ferry tack was let by "public roup with the haile emoluments and perquisites thereof hous and yaird", in this instance for one year at a rent of £20 Scots. The attendant conditions included a penalty fine of £10 Scots to be exacted as security for the proper maintenance of the boat and a further £40 Scots for "insufficient good service". In addition, "the magistrates, minister, town clerk and other members of the Town Court to be ferried gratis, except what they please to give of good will".⁴⁶ Sixty years later, in 1770, the length of let had been increased to three years, thus providing greater security of tenure for the ferryman, but the rent had been raised to £5 Sterling (£60 Scots) and the possible penalty fine was now about £8. 6/- Sterling (£100 Scots),⁴⁷ which was the equivalent of the cost of building a new boat.⁴⁸ Ferryman evidently found difficulty in raising sufficient money to meet the annual payments of rent and rent arrears were common place.⁴⁹ For this reason therefore, by 1805, the length of the ferry let had been reduced to the previous one year tenancy. Rents for the ferry let, in common with other prices, had risen considerably and ferrymen then

had to pay £20. 5/- Sterling⁵⁰ but by 1816 the annual let cost £23 Sterling.⁵¹

From the mid-eighteenth century, the rise in the cost of obtaining the let of a ferry was not always matched by an equivalent increase in fares and as the ferry boats in the western Highlands were limited in their capacity to increase the amount of freight they carried, many ferrymen attempted to augment their income by providing hospitality for travellers. Ferrymen's houses doubling as inns were small, incommodious and frequently dirty as Dorothy Wordsworth commented in 1803 in describing the "entry by cow-house, the house door being within at right angles to the outer door," continuing, "A small part of the smoke (from dry peat and heather) found its way out of the hole of the chimney, the rest through the open window-places, one of which was in the recess of the fireplace..."⁵²

The inn at the Ballachulish ferry was described by Lettice in 1792 as "the worst provided", with the dirty bed consisting of "old saks, old blankets and blocks of wood to close a large fissure in the wall at which wind and rain of a stormy night were entering freely and copiously at the foot of my uncurtained hammock".⁵³

The inn at Shian ferry was little better than this although Southey reported that the food served at the Strome Ferry inn was most appetising.⁵⁴

Ferrymen did enjoy the amenity of a house, for which they sometimes paid rent but which was sometimes a perquisite of their occupation. In 1766, for example, such a house cost £30 Sterling to build.⁵⁵

Ferrymen had little money, especially in outlying districts

where passengers often paid in kind with corn or whisky but in 1766 a regulation was introduced which enforced monetary payments thus providing ferriers with a more secure cash flow.⁵⁶

Rents from ferry lets were not the only source of revenue for ferry proprietors as the postal system, rapidly expanding from the beginning of the nineteenth century, relied heavily upon ferry services, especially in the western Highlands where so many passages of water had to be crossed in the execution of the collection and delivery of mail and appropriate fees could be extracted from the Post Office. According to Haldane, these charges greatly increased in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. For example, in 1823, mail freight was "3d a time" at the Bonawe and Shian ferries but by 1833, the annual fee had risen to £15 at Bonawe and £13 and £18. 5/- at Creagan and Ballachulish respectively, while at the Corran ferry at that time the fee was £9. 5/- annually. As the frequency of postal deliveries increased night transportations of mail by ferry became necessary and, in order to accommodate this at Strome Ferry, the charge was increased from £4. 10/- per annum to 6d. for each crossing.⁵⁷ Although the additional income from the Post Office was beneficial to ferry proprietors, such an influential customer was in a position to exert some pressure if changes were deemed to be necessary. For example, as early as 1800, in response to complaints regarding delay in the delivery of mail, Francis Rolandson, Postal Surveyor in Scotland, investigated the role played by ferries in the carriage of mail and decided that those operating at "Portsonachan and Aw should be

altogether avoided", thus not only shortening the time taken but also establishing a saving to the Post Office, but of course an equivalent loss of income to the ferry proprietors, of £3. 18/- .⁵⁸

Ferry proprietors did not have to rely entirely on earned income or invested capital to provide exclusive sources of funding for making improvements at ferry locations. The practice of ignoring the regulations stated in the 1669 Statute of Labour Act, initially indifferently received and subsequently inadequately applied, had established a position in Argyll whereby the statute labour was "converted and commuted 1/- per £1 Sterling valued rent".⁵⁹ This was paid to the local tax collector with four-fifths being allocated to district funds and the remaining one-fifth being used at the discretion of the Justices of the Peace, Commissioners of Supply and, in the nineteenth century, Road Trustee Committees. In this way the cost of essential repairs could be met and the safety of the public was considered. In 1822, for example, Stewart of Ballachulish requested the sum of £41 for "the Statute of Labour money of the Parish" to be allocated to him to meet the cost of repairing a quay at the Ballachulish ferry which was "in a very bad state". The Committee directed that £30 be paid with Stewart paying the balance himself because he was two years in arrears in contributing his own statute labour money.⁶⁰ However, General Campbell was awarded £118. 15/- , with no attendant conditions, from the statute labour money fund

for rebuilding the quay at Connel ferry.⁶¹

Appointed Committees in the West Highlands in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries could pursue at least three methods of obtaining funds, in common with similar committees in other parts of Scotland. In the first place, Committees of Justices of the Peace, Commissioners of Supply and Road Trustees could contribute a proportion of a proposed sum to meet road, bridge and/or ferry improvements, provided that the remainder was met by subscriptions raised from local landowners and influential inhabitants. This method was adopted in 1765 regarding the ferry at Bonawe plying across Loch Etive. It was said at that time that "it was hardly practicable to Boat or land horses with safety for want of a proper Quay at Islandurinish on the north side" and the cost of the rebuilding of a suitable quay was estimated at £20 Sterling. The Commissioners of Supply Committee agreed to allocate £10 Sterling from the "Publick Funds of the Shire" on condition that "the Heritors and other Gentlemen in that neighbourhood were willing to be at the rest of the Expense thereof by contributions among themselves".⁶²

Secondly, money could be borrowed as in 1817, when General Campbell of Lochiel was given the task of "endeavouring to borrow £500 Sterling upon the credit of his District (Argyllshire) when he goes to Edinburgh" in order to provide sufficient money to meet the expense of improving "the quays at the ferries of Shian, Connel and Bonawe".⁶³ Such transactions were unattractive as the additional interest required by the lender only increased the final debt. Therefore, in 1819,

when General Campbell himself offered to loan Lorn District Road Trustees Committee £500 Sterling, interest free, his offer was accepted with alacrity. The General even agreed to postpone receiving the repayment of the loan until "all those already granted are discharged".⁶⁴ Finally, appointed Committees were entitled to apply for grants to the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges after the appointment of that authority in 1803.⁶⁵ However, the ferry quays and access roads of the western Highlands did not rank high in the priorities of the Commissioners who apportioned the bulk of their funds to the development of east coast harbours and their neighbouring roads and bridges.⁶⁶ This attitude is reflected in the Commissioners 9th Report in which twenty-one projects are listed together with the money awarded to each by the Commissioners. The ferry quay at St. Catherines, on Loch Fyne, was the only ferry in the western Highlands to benefit from a grant in that account; £83. 10s. 0d. was awarded, the second smallest sum on that list.⁶⁷ The difficulty of obtaining funds to effect improvements in the system of communication in the western Highlands lay in the combination of the failure of industrial development, the inability to present persuasive arguments that "Good roads are the first and introductory improvement to all other improvements in every country"⁶⁸ and the doubt that investment of capital would produce any profit.

Lack of finance was an obstacle to maintaining and improving facilities at ferry locations in the West Highlands

but lack of concern for the need to provide an adequate service for the convenience and safety of the public was another important factor which had little consideration until the mid-eighteenth century. At that time, there was a growing awareness in those who travelled by ferry and in those who had legislative powers, that the state of ferries in that area of Scotland did not match the contribution they made to the system of communication. Ferries had plied at locations such as Otter, Inveraray, St. Catherines, Portindornoch and Creggans across Loch Fyne and had "undergone no change for a Century"⁶⁹ and it was recognised that at least a review was necessary. However, ambivalent feelings were discernible concerning the expediency of change and records demonstrate a certain willingness to procrastinate by members of the appointed Committees. For example, in 1747, the building of "a Quay at Wester Otter ... had not been done" although the Argyllshire Commissioners of Supply Committee had previously allocated £10 Sterling for that purpose.⁷⁰ By 1763, the quay had still not been completed in spite of the grant of a further £125 Sterling "to be paid when the state of publick funds can permit...".⁷¹ In 1773, a complaint regarding the ferry at Otter was submitted to the Commissioners of Supply Committee stating that "the Quay at East Otter ferry was finished, yet it would be of little use unless something was done to the Quay of the West Ferry of Otter where at present Boats could not be kept in safety and where Cattle were frequently much hurt and sometime killed in Boating them for want of a Quay...".⁷² Consequently, in 1774, the Commissioners of Supply

Committee invited "estimates from tradesmen ... of the necessary Expense of making a proper Quay at the West Ferry of Otter not exceeding £72".⁷³ Eventually, the pier was built under the authority of the Road Trustees Committee.⁷⁴

In the eighteenth century, dilatory implementation of decisions, and lax management of public funds by Commissioners of Supply Committees concerning ferries in the West Highlands could have been rationalised if committee members had been ignorant of the prevailing conditions at ferry locations in that area but this was not the case. Petitions submitted to the Committees made the position clear, as they included statements such as that recorded in 1765; "the ferry at Bonawe being one of the most publick ferries of this shire, was incommodious and dangerous to passengers with horses especially" and continuing, "... in time of great Tides or tempestuous Weather (when) it was hardly practicable to Boat or land Horses with safety ...".⁷⁵ Again, in 1788, the Commissioners considered a petition concerning the ferries at Inveraray and St. Catherines complaining of "the want of Boats and irregular service" at these ferries.⁷⁶ Remoteness from the centre of public and legal activity, together with fewer people, less pressure of time and commercial need and difficulties of establishing satisfactory supervision of projects, perpetrated a climate in which Committees of Commissioners of Supply had little scope for accountability beyond their own individual and collective sense of responsibility. However, some examples of assessment can be found which illustrate that, from

time to time, the Commissioners did request evidence to show how grants were used. In 1769, the Committee directed that "Silvercraig and Danna and the Clerk to Examine the Books to know what money has been given by the County towards repairing the Quays of East and West Otter ferries and to write to the persons who received the same or their heirs to account how the money was laid out to the next General Meeting".⁷⁷ Again, in 1770, the Committee recommended that the next General Meeting should "consider how the money given for repairing the quay of West Otter ferry was applied".⁷⁸ Although concern was evident regarding the use of the money granted for building quays at East and West Otter ferries, no further comment on this issue can be found but the apparently satisfactory reports enabled the Committee to continue to grant money to complete the project.⁷⁹ Occasionally Commissioners of Supply Committees reinforced their directives with the threat of fines; in 1788, for example, the proprietors and ferrymen of the ferries of Inveraray and St. Catherine's on Loch Fyne were admonished for "want of Boats and irregular service" and were warned that if they did not "refrain in a sufficient manner" they would be liable to a fine of £2 Sterling payable to "the Clerk of Supply" who would then be required to report to the next General Meeting of the Commissioners.⁸⁰

Committees of Commissioners of Supply and Justices of the Peace had the authority to change the location of ferry sites and to introduce a new ferry if, in their opinion, these actions were justified. Self-interest probably motivated Alexander MacNaughton, a merchant of Liddesdale in Morvern, to petition the Commissioners of Supply Committee, in 1749, to authorise a ferry to be established to ply from Liddesdale, on the south side of Loch Sunart to both Eilean a' Mhuirich and Strontian on the north shore.⁸¹ No further mention of this

issue can be found in the records. A different position confronted the Committee in 1773 concerning the ferry passages across Loch Creran when a new road was planned to terminate at the site of a previous ferry location at Shian and not at Rugarve, where that ferry had been commissioned to replace the Shian ferry in 1733. The reversal of the decision taken in 1733 included adopting a proposal to discontinue the new "line of road from Craignook to Rugarve" and supporting the establishment of a road from "Craignook to the Kirk of Appin by Shian", together with the continuation of the Creagan ferry. In addition, compensation was paid to proprietors and ferrymen at Rugarve who were permitted to continue to ferry there for only a further period of five years. The Commissioners also decreed that "proper houses" be built for "accommodating Travellers ... equally good and convenient with those at present upon each side of Rowgarve...".⁸² However, in common with the difficulties experienced in implementing many of their decisions, the Committee found that these houses had not been built by 1776 on the excuse that Campbell of Glenure, the proprietor, was "uncertain what kind of house would suit the ferry". The Committee decreed that the houses must be built before 1 August 1776 "or a penalty of £10 Sterling be exacted", a third of the total cost of building a ferry house.⁸³

The allocation of money for purposes of building quays and houses and generally maintaining ferries was not the sole remit of Commissioners of Supply as the discipline of ferrymen and supervision of the functioning of ferry services also came within

their jurisdiction. In these aspects of management, their accountability for the safety of the travelling public was probably most acute. Complaints concerning the behaviour of ferrymen sometimes warranted an enquiry which could result in the exoneration of the ferryman in question,⁸⁴ a result not necessarily destined to convince travellers that ferrymen were competent and reliable. John MacCulloch summarised a commonly held view of ferrymen by stating there was "no remedy if a drunken boatman keeps us for hours in fear or risk of our lives or exposed to storms and rain: or if an insolent or lazy one chooses to delay us for half a day...".⁸⁵ Other matters concerning the efficiency of ferries in the West Highlands included the difficulty experienced by travellers in obtaining a ferry boat if it was stationed at the opposite side of the water passage. Dorothy Wordsworth describes this problem in relation to the Connel ferry across Loch Etive, in 1803, where she wrote, "The boat being at the other side we had to wait a considerable time, though the water was not wide and our call was heard immediately. The boatmen moved with surly tardiness, as if glad to make us know that they were our masters".⁸⁶ At Connel ferry all boats were always kept at the north side, a practice acknowledged in 1817 by the Road Trustee District Committee as "the most serious inconvenience" for travellers who were often obliged to extend their journey by staying overnight in Oban five miles distant. The Committee also agreed, in 1832, that a "freer Communication can at all times be effected from the South side", and consequently they decreed that ferry boats must also be kept on the south side, with appropriate accommodation

provided to house the ferrymen.⁸⁷ Such actions by appointed committees were not sufficiently immediate, positive or widespread to initiate appreciable improvement at ferries in the West Highlands and there were few influential factors to initiate a change of attitude in the Committees, apart from the fact that some Committee members were also ferry proprietors and received rent for the tack of a ferry. The sum charged for the rent of a ferry was related to the income derived from the use of that ferry service. Therefore, the regulation of fares charged at ferries did command some attention from time to time. In 1772, within an agreement typical of ferry contracts operating then in that area of Scotland ferry fares at Creggans and Portindornoch on Loch Fyne, were paid partly by a "victual stent (three Bolls of corn) payable from the neighbouring farms" and partly by "a Trifle of money payable by Strangers passing that way", viz. "2d Sterling for a single passenger, 4d Sterling for a man and a horse, 2d Sterling for a Cow when bound and laid and 2½d Sterling when standing". Arguments in favour of raising these fares were based on "the decrease in the value of money, so great a rise in victualling and wages of servants" and on the fact that "these ferries are of vast publick utility, particularly Creggans which is on the Post road between Inveraray and Dumbarton and consequently a more immediate object of attention".⁸⁸ By 1797, rates at these ferries had been considerably increased with a single passenger paying 8d Sterling and a man and a horse 9d Sterling.⁸⁹ At that time, ferries on Loch Creran at Shian and Creagan charged only half that paid for a single passenger (4d Sterling) although the rate for a man and horse was the same

(9d Sterling).⁹⁰ Even by the mid-eighteenth century, concern was being shown by those operating ferries regarding the standardisation of rates for all ferries in close proximity to each other. In 1766, it was proposed that the proprietors of "Ferries within the Shire ... meet ... and make up one overture ... touching the freights to be paid at the several times".⁹¹ This principle continued to be applied in 1772 when the ferries of Bonawe, Connel, Rownacairn and Ballachulish were authorised to charge the same rates with the exception of "Saddle horses and Pedlars Horses", at the Ballachulish ferry which were to cost 6d Sterling instead of 4d Sterling because "the Passengers are few and the Expense of keeping up Boats great". Some concession was made to local inhabitants in the vicinity of these ferries because "the Inhabitants of each Parish being small, Tenants, Cottars and Labourers shall only be liable to pay half freight...".⁹² Again, in 1797, the same fares were applicable on the ferries of Silvercraigs, Otter, Creggans and Inveraray on Loch Fyne⁹³ and recommendations arising from an inquiry into the state of West Highland ferries in 1832 supported the standardisation of ferry rates within a certain locality.⁹⁴

The safety of the travelling public, an important consideration in the management of ferries, seemed to attract little attention in the West Highlands in spite of the numerous complaints concerning the dangers of ferry crossings. Fatalities at ferries appear to have been infrequent⁹⁵ in spite of the available boats being inadequate for the freight they were

required to carry. Passengers could be accommodated in the open ferry boats but there were only a few boats available to facilitate the easy carriage of animals, particularly horses, and it was with even greater difficulty that vehicles were transported. Dorothy Wordsworth recorded her experience in transporting a horse across Loch Etive at Connel ferry and across Loch Creran at Shian ferry. On the first occasion, the terrified horse was pushed "by main force over the ridge of the boat" and the journey was completed with the animal "plunging desperately" and beating "with such force against the boat-side that we were afraid he should send his feet through". Later, at Shian ferry, the ferrymen agreed that the horse could swim across the passage beside the boat and this method proved to be more successful although the travellers were "happy they had no more ferries to cross".⁹⁶ The problems arising in boating a horse were multiplied when a carriage had to be conveyed. In 1792, Lettice pointed out that the main difficulty concerned the maintenance of balance in stating, "Our carriage being put into the boat tilted it so much that all who entered could not restore it to anything like a balance". He added, "After a very anxious journey we reached the other side".⁹⁷ This anxiety was still shared by travellers half a century later when Lord Cockburn agreed to "let us be put in the same open boat with the carriage at Shean". He described his fear that the carriage would over-balance and upset the boat as the two ferrymen, wielding only two oars, took over an hour to accomplish the mile-wide crossing over Loch Creran.⁹⁸ Although doubts regarding a safe passage arose

from the smallness of ferry boats in relation to their cargo, inadequate quays and lack of loading equipment, with the subsequent difficulties of loading and unloading, had often to be managed by the two ferrymen with inadequate facilities at their disposal. Many ferries were used inconsistently by the public thus giving ferrymen little incentive to hold themselves in readiness at all times beside their boats but by the end of the eighteenth century, Commissioner of Supply Committees were emphasising the need for "two able men to be kept at the ferry on both sides".⁹⁹ In 1832, it was recorded that two boats and two men were employed at the ferries of Bonawe, Connel, Ballachulish, Port Sonachan and Shian.¹⁰⁰ The number of boats and ferrymen at some of these ferries may not have been sufficient to meet all the needs of travellers, particularly in inclement weather, but at least some regularity of provision was being attempted. Nevertheless, taking into account the distance between ferries and the few ferrymen employed, there was no justification for a system of supervision to be established. Therefore, the public remained subject to the idiosyncrasies of ferrymen and their boats prevalent at individual ferries.

The advent of steam had little effect upon local ferries on the sea lochs of the West Highlands as proprietors were not prepared to invest in steam-driven boats, even where these might have been beneficial, and in addition, the local population, conservative in outlook, would not have been particularly receptive to such innovation. Therefore, in the nineteenth century, the

open boats, manned by oarsmen, continued to provide ferry services throughout the West Highland area. However, the use of steam was employed in a new direct line of communication established in the nineteenth century between Glasgow and the sea-lochs of the West Highlands when steam-powered boats were used as long-distance ferries. Thus, travel to central Scotland and beyond was facilitated and trading, commercial and social opportunities hitherto denied to the West Highland area, were created. A steam boat plied daily between Glasgow and Lochgoilhead;¹⁰¹ three steam vessels sailed daily to Lochgilphead in summer, with at least one continuing to function during winter¹⁰² and a regular service, provided by steamer, ran between Glasgow and Inveraray, a journey which had previously taken two days and which could now be accomplished in seven hours.¹⁰³ Companies employing long-distance steam-powered ferries proved to be financially viable and therefore did not lack investment which provided sufficient funds for the satisfactory maintenance of boats, quays, salaries, etc., thus offering the public an attractive and convenient service. The small sea-loch ferries underwent little change during the nineteenth century. It was argued that this state of affairs continued because of a "barbarous remnant of feudal monopoly" inherent in the private ownership of these ferries thus obliging the public "to bear every kind of hazard, as well as of delay and extortion...".¹⁰⁴ The state of many ferries on West Highland sea lochs, essential as they were to the system of communication in that area of Scotland, perhaps reflected the infrequency of usage and the insolvency of many of the landlords.

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CHAPTER SIX

FERRY SERVICES IN THE
WESTERN AND NORTHERN ISLANDS

The islands situated off the western and northern coasts of Scotland had many factors in common which, before the mid-eighteenth century, contributed to the lack of ferries between the islands and to the mainland. According to Walker,¹ the insular, introspective, sparsely populated communities of these islands lacked the commercial incentive and the finance to travel. Additional constraints of language, lack of education,² poverty and limited life span³ confined the islanders to an existence in which it was difficult to contemplate change. Under such circumstances ferry services were neither desired nor required.

Numbers of small boats, which could not be classified as ferry boats, were used by the islanders for fishing and other domestic purposes. These boats transported people and goods when necessary. Access for small boats was made difficult by the uneven, rock coastlines of the Western Islands. The few natural harbours were often inappropriately situated and consequently their use by the local inhabitants was limited although they did provide shelter for ships escaping from the strong tides and violent storms which characterised the seas surrounding the islands.⁴ In both the Western and Northern Isles the uncertain weather conditions, particularly in winter, adversely affected trade and communication and made it difficult to sustain contacts with outsiders for several

months of the year.⁵ As a result, this isolation required the islanders to obtain a balance between being dependent on the support of their local community and acquiring a spirit of independence. Unlike the Northern Isles, however, the Western Isles had the advantage of the effects of the Gulf Stream resulting in a somewhat milder climate, making living conditions less severe. The narrowness of the sea channels here permitted greater ease in inter-island communication, although the dividing waters could also serve as a barrier in times of strife. Moreover, only narrow channels divided several of these islands from the mainland thus providing shorter crossings for boats on these passages. In the Northern Isles, Orkney alone was near the mainland but, even so, little use was apparently made of the crossings for the Pentland Firth was difficult to navigate.

Large boats were an advantage on hazardous sea crossings but the scarcity of large boats in the Western Isles was due to the lack of timber on many of these islands. Buying ready-made boats was an expense that the Western Islanders could not afford. Local inhabitants had to rely mostly on infrequent shipwrecks to supply wood for the constructing of boats at no cost and, even then, there would be difficulty in obtaining enough wood to build a boat of sufficient capacity to sail safely. Such a boat would require a keel of not less than twenty-two feet and be manned by four oarsmen. Eighty feet of elm and sixty feet of pine, together with two additional trees for a pair of oars⁷ would be necessary to complete a

suitable boat and this could only be imported at great expense either from the mainland of Scotland or one of the Scandinavian countries. Therefore, it was not an attractive financial proposition because there would be little commercial gain. This limitation of means of transport across the sea confined these islanders to their own environment and had a marked effect on the restriction of island trade and development prior to the 1750s. There was also a dearth of wood in the Northern Isles but here several solutions were found to solve the problem. Timber was imported for the construction of boats as well as for other purposes. Parts of boats were also imported ready for construction on delivery to the islands.⁸ Those who could not afford to buy a boat for themselves often combined with others to share the total cost. The inhabitants of the Northern Isles, therefore, had the advantage of owning a boat, or part of a boat, and consequently being free to use it to ferry or to fish.

The proximity of the sea and the availability of boats provided the inhabitants of the Northern Isles with opportunities to fish. Fish made an important contribution to the nutrition of the islanders⁹ as it provided a cheap alternative to agricultural produce. Their economy was strengthened by the substantial export of fish. The different ecological, social and practical circumstances existing in the Western Islands prevented the inhabitants there from trading in fish, although on some islands fish was caught to supplement the staple diet¹⁰ when boats were available. In the feudal land owning system, tending crofts, rearing cattle and

providing service for proprietors probably absorbed most of the time and energy of these islanders leaving little opportunity for fishing.

Cattle had always had a currency value and in the Western Isles the clan chief with the largest herd was recognised as possessing the greatest wealth.¹¹ Cattle raids, a standard form of attack and a means of increasing wealth, were organised to procure as many beasts as possible. It was also common practice to transport stolen cattle from island to island in order to appropriate them. Cattle markets in England expanded after the Union of the Parliaments in 1707. The price of cattle then rose and the demand for cattle from Scotland increased, particularly from the Western Islands.¹² Large numbers of cattle were collected at different gathering points on various islands and were then transported to the mainland.¹³ By 1750, the customary methods of transporting cattle by swimming them or by the use of an open boat was becoming inadequate because of the large number of beasts involved.¹⁴ Further problems were caused by lack of suitable roads, bridges and landing places on the island cattle routes. Proprietors and locally appointed committees were reluctant to invest either private or public money¹⁵ on necessary improvements but prevaricated by merely continuing to refer to the much earlier Statute of Labour Act, 1669.¹⁶ In the Northern Islands problems concerning lack of roads were unimportant because there was no need to move large numbers of cattle when only a small trade had developed in the export of cattle on the hoof.

The manufacture of kelp, "a commodity prepared from the ashes of seaweed and much used in the manufacture of soap and glass",¹⁷ increased in the 1790s when barilla, a similar product from Spain, could no longer be imported because of French military action. Gradually, land-owners and the islanders realised the potential wealth¹⁸ to be found in this natural resource which required little skill or capital outlay in order to obtain a handsome financial return. However, trade in this commodity did not lead to an increase in the number of ferry locations or the number of ferry boats in the Western Isles as those in existence continued to be used whatever their condition. In Orkney, the merchant ships complying with normal trading practice, accepted kelp as part of their cargo and no special arrangements were made to ferry kelp.¹⁹

The importance of the Western and Northern Islands to the economy of Scotland did not begin to emerge until after the Union of the Parliaments Act of 1707 and trade with England, the Colonies and the Continent expanded. The export of cattle particularly from the Western Isles, was an important economic factor in Scotland's national budget although little formal recognition was accorded to these islands by the government in terms of practical or financial support.

The influence of an expanding cattle trade, accompanied by an increasing demand for better boats for the easier transportation of beasts, was to become a major factor in establishing ferries in the Western Isles. The boats used

to transport cattle were "nothing but open Boats"²⁰ and the beasts were required to lie down "in the Boats which cost Eight pence each from the first of January to

the first of July when poor and ten pence from July to January again when fatt...".²¹ Some boats were fitted with a hinged gunwale to facilitate the unloading of cattle²² but for the most part the cattle were forced to swim ashore from the boat. In addition, cattle frequently had to swim across the water "roped by the under-jaw, care being taken to leave the tongue free in order to prevent drowning. Each cow was tied to the tail of the cow in front, thus forming a string of six or eight beasts and a man standing in the stern of the boat held the rope of the foremost cow. The oarsmen then row immediately and so skilful were the ferrymen that few beasts were lost. Between five thousand and eight thousand beasts were ferried across each year".²³

The custom of swimming cattle across intervening water channels frequently resulted in drovers losing control of their herds. In 1828, MacDougall of Dunollie in Lorne claimed that his pasture land was being damaged by cattle after they had climbed out of the water at Dunollie having crossed from Ardentrive on the island of Kerrera. He proposed that the traditional route for drovers across Kerrera should be closed and suggested that instead the drovers take their herds to Port Kerrera to be transferred to Oban and Lorne by boat. He even offered to maintain a boat at Port Kerrera to ship the cattle to the mainland. The practice of "Floating cattle from

the point of Ardentrive to Dunollie "involved the rights of the earl of Breadalbane, superior to the farm of Ardentrive, but no objection was raised by him. Therefore, it was agreed that "A good and sufficient boat of not less than 22 foot keel be provided, the crew to consist of four men...".²⁴

In other places, where cattle had to wait, new fanks were built to enclose the cattle. At Port Askaig, in Islay, a new fank was erected which covered sixty to eighty acres.²⁵

Cattle were transported by packet boats, which served as ferries, from outlying places such as Lochmaddy and Loch Eynort in North and South Uist respectively, or from Petersport in Benbecula to Dunvegan in Skye and other centres.²⁶ A packet boat was also used to take cattle from Stornoway to Poolewe, an undertaking which "rotted her timbers and bottom". This boat was "small and in an improper state for going to sea". She was "in want of the necessary tackling for a voyage of from forty to fifty miles in a sea that lies open to the northern ocean". The crew consisted of the master, three men and a boy.²⁷ The deficiencies of all types of boats used to transport cattle from the Western Isles across both short and long stretches of water reflected the little attention paid, even by commercial investors, to the safety and well-being of the cattle. Consequently, capital invested in the cattle trade failed to be safeguarded even when necessary precautions seemed obvious.

The lack of commercial investment and a laissez-faire approach towards establishing ferries at locations most advantageous for drovers, traders and the public in general, contributed to ferry

routes emerging on a basis of custom and usage. Island proprietors were responsible for the upkeep of boats used as ferries within their estates but until the mid-eighteenth century few improvements were introduced in spite of the incentive to be found in the increased use of ferry points for the export of cattle and kelp and by the new wealth accumulated from these undertakings. Proposals for change, to overcome the difficulties experienced, were submitted to Commissioners of Supply and like committees, from the 1740s, and these petitions encouraged such committees to exert their authority and take decisions regarding the regulation and maintenance of ferries in their area. Documentary evidence indicates that decisions made by these Committees were not always implemented as, according to the records in many of the minute books, consistency in conducting business was not a strong feature of their administration, thus leaving a sense of confusion with regard to the eventual outcome of decisions taken. A good illustration of this practice concerns a ferry route between the east coast of the island of Jura and the mainland, from the points of ferry between Lagg and Keills. In 1764, the Commissioners of Supply were petitioned to remove "the ferry from Keills to Barrahormid, on the Knapdale side and from Lagg to Ardlussa on the Jura side ... an alteration of the ferry places highly advantageous to the Publick and not detrimental to the several proprietors...".²⁸ The Commissioners responded to this request by postponing any decision and by stating that, in the interim, no change was to take place. They decreed that "the Proprietors of Keills and Lagg are appointed to keep

good Boats and accommodations for passengers and ferrying cattle until the said scheme shall take place and the intended ferry to be established".²⁹ No further reference was made to this petition in the minute book.

In 1767, three years later, the ferry from Lagg to Keills again features in another petition. This time, tacksmen James Campbell of Craignish and Duncan Campbell of Glendaruell requested permission to "sell their Boats and Discharge the Hands" at the ferry from Kinuachdrach to Aird in order to take over the tack of ferry from Lagg to Keills instead. In the event, they were granted permission to become the tacksmen of the Lagg to Keills ferry but at the same time they retained the tack of the ferry from Kinuachdrach to Aird. Much later, in 1817, the Commissioners referred to the foresight of their predecessors in retaining the Lagg to Keills ferry route commenting, "The rendering of this Ferry which opens a communication to and from Islay, Jura and Collonsay more safe and commodious...".³⁰

In Mull, the expansion of trade in sheep,³¹ the growth in population³² as well as an increasing number of visitors, influenced the need for an additional ferry in 1829. Consequently, an extra ferry was recommended to operate between Balsulanach in Mull and Kilcolumkill in Morvern.³³ The Mull District Road Trustees Committee, the authority empowered to authorise the implementation of such a petition, was enthusiastic in accepting the idea. Furthermore, it was recommended that the boundaries of the ferry should be "From the March of Craignurie to the point of Callachilly" on the Mull side and on the Morvern side,

from "Lochaline Village to the Water of Salacham"³⁴ and a viable ferry service was soon established there.

In 1829, there were now at least eleven ferry locations in Mull, a number which reflects the central position of this island in relation to trade in cattle, kelp and later sheep.³⁵ Mull was thus an essential communication link between the adjacent mainland counties of Ardnamurchan and Morvern and the smaller islands of Tiree, Coll and Ulva to the west, Iona to the south-west, Kerrera to the south-east and Lismore, within the confines of Loch Linnhe, to the north-east. In a report issued in 1834, the Mull Commissioners of Supply made special reference to two principal ferries, "the one from Achnacraig through Kerrera to Lorne near Oban and the other from Ballemeanoch to Keills in Morven". These ferries were not accorded equal status, however, as at Achnacraig there were "two large boats for ferrying cattle, a Post sailing boat and a row Boat for passengers", whereas at Ballemeanoch there was only "a large boat for cattle and a row boat for passengers". In addition, the report mentions two other ferries "From Creggan (Crogan) to Lorne" and "From Ardnaugh (Ardnacross) to Kilalintie (Kilundine) or Keill (Kill) or Bunavallin (Bonnavoulin) in Morven".³⁶ The report acknowledged that there existed "several other minor ferries" but concluded they were not "of consequence enough to support". Nevertheless, their presence suggests that they were beneficial to the local population in their capacity as a means of transport and an essential communication link. These small ferry locations were situated at places

such as Kilninian to visit Arinagour in Coll;³⁷ Oskamull to go to Ulva; Fionnphort to sail to Iona; Ardchoirk (north of Achnacraig) to travel to Fiart in Lismore;³⁸ Craignure to embark for Ardnacroish in Lismore;³⁹ Fishnish to reach Lochaline in Morvern⁴⁰ and Balsulanach to land at Kilerlumkill (Kill) in Morvern.⁴¹ Even though Mull had so many ferry routes there was still no stated ferry between Mull and Tiree in the middle of the nineteenth century and the communication between the two islands was "extremely irregular and uncertain, depending on any casual conveyance which may occur".⁴²

Problems connected with small, local ferries were often related to the unavailability of boats and ferryman when required. This apparent unreliability was excusable if ferry traffic was light and if the ferryman was also required to attend to a croft. Nevertheless, other boatmen capitalized on the frustration of prospective passengers by offering an immediate passage. This practice undermined the the position and earnings of the legitimate ferryman and prompted the submission of complaints by them. In 1789, exploitation by casual boatmen was prevalent on the island of Lismore and in response to it the Argyllshire Commissioners of Supply prohibited "... all the Tenants, Cottars and other inhabitants of Lismore from ferrying from there to Mull any passengers", and any contravention of this decree was liable to a fine of £1 Sterling for each offence. In order to give this decision the widest publicity instructions were given to deliver a copy to the "Agent at Inveraray", to post it at the Parish Church and to take it to the ferryman.⁴³

The most frequented ferry route from Mull to the mainland was from the south-west corner of the island via the small island of Kerrera and thence to the mainland. This route was particularly suitable for use by cattle droves as the sea passage was abbreviated thus avoiding undue stress for the cattle in terms of being confined in small boats with all the attendant difficulties. This ferry route was located at Auchnacraig or nearby Grass Point on Mull and, from 1760 onwards, terminated at Barr nam Boc on Kerrera. Prior to that time, the point of ferry had been "alternately, for three months at Slattrach and three months at Ardmore".⁴⁴ Such oscillation between ferry locations caused uncertainty and inconvenience so that a more reliable location providing a consistent service was necessary. Therefore, by common consent, Barr nam Boc was chosen and thenceforth a ferry operated from that point. The other ferry routes from Kerrera were Port Kerrera to Lorne or Oban and Ardentrive to Dunollie.

Islands off the mainland of Scotland could be isolated as a consequence of fog and inclement weather conditions. The proximity of the island of Skye to the mainland facilitated communication between the two by use of ferries although these routes, short as they were, also crossed dangerous waters. Reference was made in the seventeenth century to a ferry route in the south of Skye "ovir to Sleat in Skie",⁴⁵ from Kintail on the mainland. Another more prominent ferry route, was described by Martin in 1716, "... the Ferry-Boat crosseth to Glenelg (where) it's so narrow that one may call

the Ferry-Boat, and be easily heard on the other side".⁴⁶

This route continued to grow in importance as the volume of traffic increased, particularly in relation to the export of cattle, when it was recognised as "the usual ferry for black cattle in Skye"⁴⁷ even in the nineteenth century.

The other narrow channel of water between Skye and the mainland lay between the ferry points of Kylerhea and Kyle of Loch Alsh. However, this route was little frequented and, even in 1821, travellers found themselves stranded there because "No boat, no ferryman, no passage for horse" could be found.⁴⁸ Several other small ferries operated locally in Skye providing a service for the inhabitants when it was required. These routes were often ancient in origin such as that from "the ferry town under Binscard called Scosa" mentioned by Timothy Pont in the seventeenth century.⁴⁹

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the larger harbours of Portree and Dunvegan accommodated packet boats expected to sail about once a fortnight from Lewis, Harris, North and South Uist, Benbecula and Barra.⁵⁰ At that time, Dunvegan, in particular, was a busy ferry location catering for small but seaworthy boats described as having "no floor, but rise with an almost flat, straight side, so that a transverse section resembles a wedge".⁵¹ However, other boats, less safe, were also in use and these were often "open and carried 12 tons" and "were manned by three men in addition to a master".⁵² In the nineteenth century, packet boats of "60 tons burthen sails" arrived at Dunvegan from Harris and

"decked vessels", employed to transport cattle, sailed to Dunvegan from South Uist and Barra.⁵³

The ferry routes from the out-lying Western Isles operated mainly between islands because, except for Poolewe and Ullapool, no other centres had been established on the north-west coast of Scotland. The sailing route between Stornoway in Lewis and Poolewe on the mainland was the most widely used connection with the mainland from the outer islands. In the 1780s, a packet sailed weekly on that route, a crossing which was exposed to the vagaries of the sea and the weather. In 1786, Knox described the journey he made from Stornoway to Poolewe when the boat in which he sailed was first becalmed in sight of Poolewe, then driven south by a sudden storm to the north of the Gairloch. Eventually, he states, "the wind, though more moderate, did not favour our entrance into Loch Ewe and we were carried or driven some miles beyond it to Loch Broom" and there landed in safety.⁵⁴ This illustration is typical of the hazards encountered on ferry routes in the Western Isles and indicates the difficulties involved in establishing a regular, reliable ferry service when sailing boats were used.

The building and maintenance of harbours and quays to facilitate the loading and unloading of ferry boats was given little consideration in the Western Isles until the middle of the eighteenth century when some changes were made. Until then, make-shift loading places prevailed as Dr. Johnson noted in complaining about the "difficulty in landing" when the "craggs" on which he landed were so "irregularly broken"

that a "false step would have been mischievous".⁵⁵ The Statute of Labour Act (1669), passed to authorise a supply of labour for the building and upkeep of roads, bridges and ferry quays, had been largely ignored in practical terms in the Western Isles until the middle of the eighteenth century. At this time, it was invoked by some of the Commissioners of Supply Committees in order to improve lines of communication in the Western Isles. Consequently, harbours and quays at ferry locations came under greater scrutiny.

In 1750, the inhabitants of Kerrera were required to perform three days Statute Labour service on the quay at Barr nam Boc where the cattle disembarked from Auchnacraig, in Mull.⁵⁶ The building of this quay commenced in 1758 and some of the workmen were paid according to their skills. For example, "Hector Maclean, plasterer and quarrier was paid £3. 15 and Donald Sinclair, smith, received £2. 5". Both of these tradesmen worked for ninety days while "Angus McInish (skills unspecified) was paid 15/- for thirty days work". These wages were financed by the proprietor of Kerrera, Alexander Macdougall of Dunollie,⁵⁷ although efforts had been made by him to extract unpaid labour under the Statute of Labour Act. However, attempts to coerce free labour by invoking the Act proved increasingly ineffective and in 1790 a further act was passed which permitted Statute Labour to be converted into money.⁵⁸ Therefore, in 1819, when Macdougall of Dunollie found that he held £12 Statute Labour money, he proposed to use it to repair the road from Port Kerrera to Barr nam Boc and "the Quays at

Port Kerrera and Barr nam Boc".⁵⁹ In the event, the bill for the work done amounted to £6, yet, according to a report made by Macdougall of Gallenoch, no evident improvements were made as, "... the road leading from the ferry of Port Kerrera across the Hill to Kilbride... is now impassible". He requested that either the road be "shut up altogether" or "repaired out of the Statute of Labour of the Parish". It was agreed that "it be put into repair as soon as the funds of the Parish admit".⁶⁰ Nevertheless, anxiety regarding the state of the quays at Port Kerrera and Barr nam Boc continued and a year later, in 1821, further protests were made emphasising that "unless there is attention paid to these quays and a sum laid out... the public will be put to a great inconvenience".⁶¹

In Jura, too, appointed local bodies were concerned about the lack of work undertaken on the maintenance of quays, particularly with regard to well-used quays such as that at Lagg. Jura, an island "not remarkable for the Goodness of its Harbours"⁶² presented difficulties for the shipment of cattle. At Lagg, improvements were required including the building of a "proper key... at the place of Boating, as at present it was very dangerous for cattle".⁶³ In 1774, it was decreed that Statute Work be undertaken by "... the Inhabitants of Jura... on repairing the place for boating cattle" with the corollary that "the inhabitants of Jura shall perform their statute work in repairing Roads or Quays, as the surveyor shall think most necessary".⁶⁴ Eventually, in 1821, the importance of granting financial

help towards the construction of a substantial pier at Lagg was recognised and a sum of £373. 10s. 0d. Sterling was allocated to accomplish this.⁶⁵

Reliance on money provided by the proprietors to furnish the Western Isles with convenient and well maintained harbours and quays may explain, to some extent, why these were found to be deficient. The government, too, failed to give financial support to effect improvement possibly because of the remoteness of the area and the prospect of little financial reward for any investment. Moreover, there were differences of opinion regarding what would be suitable provision. The quays at Stornoway came into this category. Knox and Buchanan visited Stornoway within four years of each other in the 1780s. Knox was disparaging in his comments regarding the harbour facilities stating that "Something had indeed been erected here in the name of a Key and even that is so much out of repair that vessels load and unload upon the beach or in the bay by means of boats".⁶⁶ In view of this observation, it is difficult to understand why Buchanan, on the other hand, praised the "Excellent Piers and quays for loading and unloading vessels" and commented on "a harbour spacious and easy of access".⁶⁷

Some proprietors did spend money in an effort to improve facilities for shipping in the Western Isles. Alexander Macleod, for example, "spent much time (towards the end of the eighteenth century) and money in making piers and harbours"

in Rodel in the south of Harris. In addition, he built several roads in that area,⁶⁸ an unusual activity at that time, as the roads of most of the out-lying islands then consisted of "the least vestige of a track or path".⁶⁹ Indeed, it was in 1827 when Joseph Mitchell escorted Lord Colchester, a government consultant for road extensions, on a visit to Lewis and supported his recommendations for an ambitious road-building scheme to be undertaken there. However, in 1829, owing to the demise of Lord Colchester, his scheme was abandoned.⁷⁰

Until the nineteenth century, the lack of clarity regarding responsibility for the extension and upkeep of access roads in the Western Isles affected the efficiency of ferry services. Consequently, roads were constructed with little apparent plan or guarantee of completion or upkeep. Skye was one of the few islands where attempts at road-building began in the 1780s but, in spite of labourers being encouraged in their work by the presence of "a bagpiper", it was said that "the facility of travelling from their labours soon ended".⁷¹ Sarah Murray, in 1802, experienced difficulties in travelling to Kylerhea as the access road was only partly made. She said, "I got off my horse and walked down the hill, but how the men sat on their horses over the channels made by torrents, precipices, hollows and rough ways, I cannot conceive".⁷²

The programme of road building being implemented on the mainland by Stevenson, Telford and others in the early

nineteenth century did not, on the whole, extend to the Western Isles, although in Skye the early attempts at road building did continue spasmodically. In 1804, for example, proposals were made for roads to be built from Stein in the north-west of Skye to Ardvasser Bay in the south of the Sleat peninsula, incorporating branch roads to Portree and Kyleshera.⁷³ In addition, a road was requested from Dunvegan to Portree.⁷⁴ These roads were constructed principally for the benefit of cattle droves and sheep herds. Consequently, turf, heather or brushwood was often laid on a peat foundation which supported a gravel surface.⁷⁵ This method of construction depended upon regular maintenance to secure good roads but little money was available and these roads soon deteriorated. At that time, absentee landlords were common and apparently had none of "the patriarchal feelings of a chief".⁷⁶ Joseph Mitchell reported that "for the fifty-two years I have known the island no improvements worth notice have taken place".⁷⁷ Road and bridge building in Mull was important in order to allow greater access to all the ferry locations on that island and accordingly, in the early nineteenth century, some attention was paid to the surveying of suitable routes. James Hope, Secretary to the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges, spent time negotiating to this end but in 1812 he commented to Thomas Telford "I should not be much surprised if there were still a blow up".⁷⁸ Evidently, difficulties had arisen due to "little jealousies and animosities of rival proprietors" and it was advised that "the puny schemes of the selfish,

avaricious and unenlightened must be brought to yield to the better views of the liberal minded: and private accommodation and interest must bend to the common good".⁷⁹ This opinion must have prevailed because Road Trustee Committees were given the task of improving facilities aided by government grants to defray the cost.⁸⁰

Difficulty in reaching the Western Isles, uncertainty regarding the people and their life-style, together with little commercial incentive, resulted in few people being prepared to undergo the necessary hardships entailed by such a visit in the eighteenth century. At that time, the few travellers usually represented government interests and visited the Islands for the purpose of preparing specific reports but publication of their experiences and findings did contribute subsequently to a growth in the number of visitors.

Descriptions given by such people provide insight into the behaviour, social culture and working conditions of the islanders and comments on the provision and state of ferry boats were not infrequent. Few concessions were made to accommodate passengers as Dr. Johnson discovered in 1773 when he reported that he "never saw a boat furnished with benches or made more commodious by any addition to the first fabrick".⁸¹ If the problems of ferrying foot passengers were great, then they were multiplied when the transportation of a carriage was necessary, especially as "the only machinery for putting the vehicle on board consists of dozens of lazy and very awkward Highlanders, all scolding in Erse, who almost lift

it and throw it into the groaning boat".⁸²

Ferryman were held to be responsible for the safety of the passengers and goods they transported. Therefore, they were also responsible for maintaining the ferry boats, taking necessary decisions regarding the weather and sea conditions as well as supervising the loading and unloading of cargoes. The task of ferrying in the Western Isles demanded great skills of seamanship but, to fulfil the task of ferrying satisfactorily, status and authority needed to be conferred on ferryman and this was not readily forthcoming. The effects of the feudal landowning system, prevalent in the Western Isles, ensured the subservient position of labourers including ferryman. In Lismore, in 1651, the Campbell clansmen there were obliged to undergo military service for the duke of Argyll by "the manning of six oars in a galley whenever this was required...".⁸³ Exemption from the duke's military service was granted to ferryman in 1752 by a decree from the Commissioners of Supply.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the fear of ferryman being pressed into military service persisted. The ferryman at Auchnacraig had good reason to be apprehensive after an incident which occurred in 1759. It seems that eight ferryman were apprehended, taken to Fort William and thence to Leith. No evidence could be found to indicate their final destination. In view of such a high-handed and terrorising activity, the local Commissioners of Supply were requested to invoke the protection of the Admiralty for all the ferriers at Auchnacraig.⁸⁵ Henceforth, it seems that press-gangs were at least temporarily rendered ineffective.

Ferriers could be undermined by illegitimate ferrying and undercutting of fares by other boatmen with a consequent loss of revenue to the ferrymen. The proprietor of the Port Kerrera ferry, Alexander Macdougall of Dunollie, raised this issue in 1795 by complaining that the "expense of supporting two men and two boats at Port Kerrera and four men and three boats for the ferry to Mull" was not financially viable if other boats were taking his customary trade.⁸⁶ The Commissioners of Supply responded to this complaint by confirming that Alexander Macdougall did possess the right of ferry at these locations and therefore only he was entitled to operate the ferry boats and collect the fares. In some cases, ferrymen attempted to increase their revenue by seeking to increase the ferry rates. John Campbell of Cloichomby requested the authority to raise the fare on the Port Kerrera ferry from 1/6d to 2/6d but it took thirty-six years for the increase to be sanctioned. Even then, there was an immediate public outcry at the charge and the Commissioners reverted to the original fare by prohibiting the ferrymen from exacting more than the old fare of 1/6d.⁸⁷

One of the ways in which ferrymen were remunerated was to receive unlimited quantities of whisky. Increased ferry traffic and the need to provide a more reliable service, particularly when the safety of beasts was concerned at the height of the cattle trade, alerted Commissioners of Supply and like committees to the need for legislation regarding whisky consumption. Efforts were made in the 1760s

to redress the position and it was decreed that ferrymen were to be allocated only one mutchkin (an English pint) for every thirty cattle ferried.⁸⁸ From that time, this measure of whisky was adopted as standard practice.⁸⁹ The custom of constantly imbibing alcohol was inevitably a contributing factor to the reputation for unreliability accorded to ferrymen who were said to operate only when "it suits their humour and convenience".⁹⁰

Payment in kind to ferrymen included oatmeal, barleymeal, cheese and butter. Occasionally additional cash was paid, such as the £4. 11s. 2d. received in 1748 by the ferryman at Port Kerrera.⁹¹ A house and some land often comprised part of the perquisites granted to ferrymen, although some rent for these was usually exacted. John MacMartine, ferryman at Port Kerrera in 1748, was required to pay an annual rent of "a hundred merks and a two-year old wedder". In 1786, his successor, who owned a quarter share in the croft at Bailemore, paid "rents equal to two horse gangs... and all other services and prestations in the same proportion".⁹² Labouring on the land was the customary form of service performed for a proprietor but in the case of ferrymen, it was occasionally commuted into "sea services".⁹³ The acquisition of a house gave the ferryman an opportunity to augment his income by providing travellers with refreshment. Sometimes this was so successfully accomplished that passengers were "detained instead of advanced"⁹⁴ on their journey. Passengers were not always dependent on ferrymen, however, sometimes the

position was reversed. For example, passengers often insisted on being ferried to the mainland late in the evening and this resulted in ferrymen being "benighted and detained until they would Eat and Drink the ferry money and so had nothing for their time and trouble".⁹⁵

Ferrymen at ferry locations central to the export of cattle, such as Port Askaig in Islay and Auchincraig on Mull, had inevitably to assume a certain authority to effectively control the large numbers of cattle being transported. The ferrymen at these points were empowered to carry out certain procedures. James Hill, ferryman at Port Askaig, was authorised to control the procedure for shipping beasts and further instructed to maintain the condition of the slipway for the protection of the cattle.⁹⁶ At Auchincraig, the lack of fanks, in 1767, created difficulties in control of cattle awaiting the ferry especially when an over-night stay was necessary. The ferrymen received directions from the local Commissioners of Supply regarding the extent of ground to be used for the cattle and were required to make arrangements for their supervision.⁹⁷ This extension of their function would indicate that these ferrymen required skills in addition to those of seamanship.

One of the factors heralding fundamental change in the organisation of ferry services from the Western Isles to the mainland was the institution of the postal service. The regularity and reliability essential in the development of a creditable postal system in the Western Isles was dependent upon ferry services reaching an equally high standard. Until

the first post office was opened in Skye in 1757,⁹⁸ ferry services from the Islands had been infrequent, irregular, badly administered and subject to a variety of adverse influences. The transport of mail generated a more business-like approach to the service provided by ferries and although change was gradual, innovations were made. In the 1790s, a mail packet boat sailed weekly to Islay⁹⁹ and a similar arrangement was followed concerning Mull, with a "post sailing boat" going regularly to Auchnacraig.¹⁰⁰ At that time, it was common practice for local merchants and others to subsidise packet boats which carried mail to the Islands with the Post Office only providing small sums of money towards their upkeep.¹⁰¹ This arrangement was unsatisfactory as it involved an unequal balance between the proportion of investment made by local inhabitants and that made by the Post Office.¹⁰² It was only with the advent of steam that the Post Office was induced to increase its investment. The first steam boat passed through the Sound of Mull in 1818 and by 1821 the steamboat "Highlander" plied regularly between Tobermory and Glasgow.¹⁰³ At the same time, the ferry service was regularised between Portree and Glasgow¹⁰⁴ in order to provide transport for mail sent under the auspices of the new 'Penny' stamp. There seemed to be no limit to the possibilities for improvement with the introduction of the new steam-powered ferry boats. The days of the small sail or oared ferry boats seemed numbered. Lord Breadalbane's factor even proposed that "steam boats should be employed to tow cattle boats from Auchincraig to the mainland".¹⁰⁵

Although this proposition was never carried out, steam-powered boats did sail directly from Mull to the mainland thus superseding the use of ferries to Kerrera. Steam boats did transform the scale and the standard of the ferry service operating across long sea passages but small local ferries remained much as before.

There is little documentary evidence concerning ferries in the Northern Islands, Orkney and Shetland, perhaps because so many boats in these islands were privately owned¹⁰⁶ and served the dual purpose of ferrying and fishing. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the main ferry routes from Orkney to the mainland of Scotland were from South Ronaldsay to Caithness.¹⁰⁷ By the early nineteenth century, ferry routes were established to Orkney from Skarfskerry and Huna¹⁰⁸ in Caithness.

The greater distance between Shetland and the north coast of Scotland proved to be a handicap in the introduction of direct ferry routes. Until the end of the seventeenth century, merchant ships fulfilled the dual role of ferry boat and trading vessel.¹⁰⁹ These ships customarily transported those travelling to Shetland for business purposes including government, church, military officials and traders as well as members of the aristocracy. Local fishing boats from Orkney and Shetland maintained links between the islands because they also performed a dual function. In the 1670s, the route followed by a customs officer included travelling from Orkney to Scalloway in Shetland and thence in turn to Bressay Sound, Whalsay, Burravoe, Unst, Northmavine,

Papa Stur, Walls, Burra and Dunrossness.¹¹⁰ Earlier, in 1615, a series of standard ferry fares had been proposed on main routes between the islands.¹¹¹ By 1733, these fares had been categorised into rates according to size of boat and length of journey.¹¹²

Two factors precluded the need to build quays and piers in the Northern Isles, namely the nature of the terrain and the special design of the boats. According to local custom, boats were easily beached on sandy shores and loading and unloading created no apparent difficulties. The skills of seamanship, for which these islanders were justly famous, were essential in meeting the problems of navigating the seas surrounding Orkney and Shetland.¹¹³ The Pentland Firth was particularly hazardous because it contained the whirlpools known as the Wells of Swinna, most dangerous when the sea was calm. Boatmen adopted a method to ensure safe passage over these whirlpools by casting "... a barrel or an oar into the water, as if to divert the attention of the sea from their boat, and they then sailed safely across the whirlpool".¹¹⁴

The main communication links between Orkney and Shetland and the mainland of Scotland lay from Kirkwall and Lerwick respectively to ports on the eastern seaboard such as Aberdeen, Dundee and Leith. As in the Western Isles, the institution of a postal service, with the establishing of a post office in Lerwick in 1757, emphasised the need for regularised services. At this time, the Post Office paid £60 annually to a firm of Leith merchants towards the cost of a packet boat to carry

mail five times a year to Lerwick. This arrangement proved unsuccessful because of inadequate organisation, unreliability, adverse weather conditions and competition from other trading vessels that carried mail.¹¹⁵ Alternative proposals were investigated but only in 1802 did the government agree to subsidise the carrying of mail by contributing £120 per year for ten trips annually. The packet boats undertaking this task were criticized as being "a perfect nuisance, an Interruption of all Information and a ruin to Trade, Commerce and even Credit of this country".¹¹⁶ Even in 1822, there were periods when no packet boats sailed for weeks at a time followed by a period when a number of boats crossed in successive weeks.¹¹⁷ The remedy for such an uneven pattern lay in solving the difficulties of providing an economically viable service free from the requirements of trade. This was achieved in 1823 when a contract was made between the Leith and Shetland Shipping Company and six small-scale Lerwick merchants, an Edinburgh merchant and a Lerwick lawyer to maintain an 87-ton schooner to sail regularly between Lerwick and Leith.¹¹⁸ Inter-island mail services were established between 1821 and 1830 and during this time open "Flit boats" were replaced by decked vessels¹¹⁹ which also continued to act as ferry boats.

The coming of steam incorporated advantages of increased speed, improved reliability and more frequent contact on major communication routes between the Northern Isles and the mainland but it made a limited impact on shorter routes, such as those between Orkney and Caithness and from one small island to

another. Resistance to change, inherent in the insularity of the local island population, combined with lack of opportunism, little financial incentive and reliance on an agricultural-based society resulted in a slow adaptation by ferry services in Orkney and Shetland to the demands of the later nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

PASSAGE BOATS

The dissection of the land mass of Scotland by wide rivers on the eastern seaboard and by sea-inlets and lochs in the west, presented major problems of communication and transport. In addition, smaller but often hazardous water barriers were also present. Different solutions were found to negotiate crossings in accordance with local conditions and requirements. Since the earliest records two basic forms of transportation over water prevailed, namely, fording by wading¹ or riding² or navigation,³ with the existing physical environment dictating which form was adopted.

Speed and ease of crossing was facilitated by the choice of location based on the width, depth and nature of water.⁴ Wherever possible fords were used to cross water in preference to tackling difficulties involved in establishing ferries. Rivers such as the Tweed⁵ and Teviot⁶ in the south, the upper reaches of the Clyde⁷ in the west and the Dee⁸ and Spey⁹ in the north provided convenient fords, many of which were replaced by bridges early in the eighteenth century.

In some areas it was common practice for travellers to wade through water and carry travellers on their backs or shoulders.¹⁰ In other areas 'stilting' was an accepted way of crossing water. This skill was still demonstrated as late as 1760 to effect crossings over the River Ardlie¹¹ and the River Devon.¹² Stilts were described as "two branches of a tree, of proper strength,

with a cleft or small branch preferred in each, of a sufficient width to receive a person's foot eighteen or twenty inches from the root used. The person then mounted and "stalked through the river at fords".¹³ At certain times, travellers "were obliged to cross a river by ford or in a passage boat in a spate, the one method is impracticable and the other very difficult".¹⁴ Being towed by grasping the tail of an animal swimming across water was sometimes practised and was a method resorted to by cattle thieves.¹⁵

The need to cross deep, wide expanses of water provided a challenge which was met by the application of creativity and practical skills resulting in the development of crafts such as the canoe¹⁶ for transporting people and light goods and the raft¹⁷ for carrying bulky and heavy loads. Evidence from the documents confirmed that canoes were employed on the Forth and Tay. Furthermore, it could be argued that rafts were a primitive fore-runner to ferry boats as they possessed the capacity to convey both people and goods across stretches of water. It has been suggested that they were constructed by "cementing tree trunks together with sods of earth"¹⁸ thus offering a sturdy floating platform to accommodate those who might require movement of goods across water.

Concerning the design and usage of early types of craft a distinction has to be drawn between those using inland waters and those sailing across sea passages. The boat-building expertise of the Vikings greatly influenced the design and structure of boats emanating firstly from Shetland and later

from the Outer Hebrides.¹⁹ The smaller 'long boats', adapted from the large galleys employed in King Haakon's navy in the attempted invasion of Scotland in 1263,²⁰ provided a prototype on which Shetlanders in particular, designed their boats. The reputation earned by the reliability and seaworthiness of such boats reflected the precision and balance of their construction and design.²¹

The Shetland sixern and fowareen were direct descendents of the Norwegian long boats and for six centuries were employed as multi-purpose boats mainly in fishing and ferrying on the Pentland Firth.²² The sixern was an "open boat with six oars. It was double-ended, clinker-built and had about 18 feet of keel".²³ Occasionally called the "Norwegian Skiff", it was a boat renowned for the "high spring which no wave can sink, which rides the wave like a feather".²⁴ Ideally, this design matched the exigencies of northern waters in terms of strength, mobility and balance. According to Professor Donaldson this boat had "a shape of hull and a method of construction of superlative sea-worthiness ... it has not been found possible to improve on that ancient design in any essential".²⁵ The fowareen, a smaller edition of the sixern, rowed by four men, was employed by Shetlanders as early as 1561 when rates for boat hire were listed as an "ilk four caring boit to Meawick or Skalloway for one flitting ane half mark and ilk sax caring ten schillings".²⁶ Other islanders, however, were inexplicably slow to appreciate the obvious advantages implicit in these boats and little attempt was made to buy or build sixerns in particular outside the Shetland Islands. Even Orcadians

failed to capitalise on this asset held by their near neighbours.

The necessity to master the sea for sustenance and purposes of communication motivated islanders to build boats with safety standards limited only by the extent of the skills and knowledge possessed by the boat builders and the materials available. Shetlanders were rated more highly in this respect than Orcadians²⁷ who, nevertheless developed the yawl or yole, which was eventually employed on many waterways throughout Scotland. The "Ness Yole", "one of the most ancient boat types" was built of wood and "has not changed over the centuries". It measured

" 15' between scarves or skaiks of keel
 21½' over the stem
 5½' in midships beam
 21" inside depth. "²⁸

The frame of the yole was light, the body clinker-built and it was "propelled by three pairs of oars pulled by three men who might sit on plaited straw mats laid over the thwarts". In addition, "the mast is stepped through the midship thwart and the sail is a square sail set 'flying'. Such a sail has a tremendous lifting power".²⁹

The apparent frailty of the yawl when navigating heavy seas was off-set, to a certain degree, by the suppleness, inherent in the design, and the speed of which it was capable.³⁰ In the seventeenth century, it was a moderately priced boat and in 1685, it was valued at £6. 5/- (Scots) in Orkney.³¹ The low cost added to its attraction, particularly in the eighteenth century when more prospective boat/ferry proprietors or licensees were

able to meet such a relatively small outlay.

Public corporations who, in the eighteenth century, wished to equate public convenience with economic viability, selected yawls as appropriate ferry boats. Managers and Trustee Committees responsible for Forth³² and Tay³³ ferry passages appointed yawls to service these ferries from the beginning of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. "Good yawls in navigable condition provided with suitable cables, sails, anchors, rigging and other apparel"³⁴ met the necessary requirements at that time. Other corporate bodies including Inveraray Burgh Council perceived the yawl as the most appropriate type of boat for such ferries as that from Inveraray to St. Catherines. It was recorded that Donald Fletcher of Inveraray, on being granted the let for this ferry in 1788, was required "at his own expense" to furnish a yawl "16' in length in keel and 8' broad in the beam".³⁵

The size and niceties of construction of a yawl varied, an advantage which increased its popularity as this allowed for adaption to meet specific conditions and requirements. Thus, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, Dundee Town Council listed three classes of yawl, viz; "No. 1. to carry up to thirty passengers; No. 2. to carry up to twenty-four passengers and No. 3 to carry up to eighteen passengers".³⁶ New categories were defined which included the terms 'cutter' and 'pinnace', while speed and manoeuvrability became the focus in the design. In common with the yawl, alternative methods of propulsion were readily available as cutters and

pinnaces could be sailed and/or rowed. The cutter, in particular, was welcomed as "a variety of new boat, which was larger than the former pinnaces but did not draw as much water as the larger boats".³⁷ The single mast of the cutter facilitated navigation and at the same time the number of boatmen necessary for manning was reduced. The new 'flat bottom' design of cutters meant that this type of boat was suitable for servicing ferry passages because it "draws little water, so that an easy conveyance can be had almost at all times of the tide except at low or neep tides or when contrary winds prevail".³⁸ These boats were also recommended for use as 'barges' to be towed across the Forth and Tay in order to augment the capacity of the ferry service already offered in the early nineteenth century.³⁹ Indeed, in 1821, this system enabled "1,000 cattle a day to be transported to good fairs"⁴⁰ across the Queensferry Passage.

With the development of the postal system during the early nineteenth century cutters were deployed to carry mail in addition to their ferrying duties. Customs and Excise authorities likewise perceived the advantages that cutters could offer in terms of increased speed.⁴¹

At this period, another popular choice of ferry boat was the pinnace and it was deemed suitable for use either at minor ferries or to supplement the use of yawls and larger boats at major ferries. Of the thirteen boats available at the Kirkcaldy to Leith crossing in 1815, no fewer than ten were "open pinnaces".⁴² The popularity of the pinnace rested mainly on the low cost of

production, the simplicity of design, the possibility of adequate financial return and low overhead expenses. However, the advantages of employing pinnaces as ferry boats were inextricably linked with certain disadvantages. Problems as yet unresolved in the design of these boats included the inadequate provision of shelter for passengers and goods, limited capacity for freight and vulnerability to the vagaries of winds and tides. Indeed, this was also true of yawls and cutters.

Pinnaces and yawls employed as ferry boats on the Forth and Clyde estuaries had to contend with unpredictable and strong winds. In 1683, the Magistrates of Burntisland and Kinghorn objected to the use of Kirkcaldy as a point of ferry on the grounds that "these small boats employed by them have been and are oft times overtaken by flaimes (gusts of wind) and storms whereby His Majesties' Lieges have not only bein often in hasard but ordinarily lost".⁴³ Again, in 1784, it was argued that the South Queensferry harbour should be extended because "the only place in N/W and S/E winds to land was Newhalls", otherwise, boats had to "tack many times and beat to windward for an hour or two if the wind was high".⁴⁴ Later, in 1815, it was said that the pinnaces employed to ferry between Kirkcaldy and Leith "are quite incapable of encountering the heavy winds and storms so frequently occurring on that passage. For weeks during this winter not one of the pinnaces durst venture out of Kirkcaldy harbour. It is only during the summer months or in quiet weather that such vessels can be used".⁴⁵

Similar criticisms were applied to the pinnaces which ferried across the Clyde from Dunoon to Cloch.⁴⁶

Variations of design stemming from the original Shetland sixern and the Orkney yole provided a plethora of ferry boats differing in size, structure and capacity which defied accurate categorisation. The problem of classification was apparent from the earliest documents as ferry boats were constantly referred to as "fit and sufficient boats".⁴⁷ In 1639, the Constable and Magistrates of Dundee were directed to "sie thair be good boatts sufficientlie provided"⁴⁸ to serve the Tay passage between Dundee and Newport. Such general terms were applied equally in reference to ferry boats at major and minor ferries until the early nineteenth century.⁴⁹ In addition to difficulties of categorisation, confusion existed concerning terminology. This was confined to descriptions regarding very small boats variously named currahs, coracles and cibles. They shared similar characteristics and were employed on narrow water passages. The early design of these little boats, often used for salmon fishing, included "a keel, mast of the lightest wood and a hull consisting of willow covered with leather".⁵⁰ Their value depended mainly on two factors. Firstly, the material necessary for their construction was readily at hand and cheap. Secondly, ferry services were available because particular stretches of river prolific in salmon, were constantly manned. Some of these boats such as Inchbare Boat and Boat of Alford on the Rivers Dee and Don respectively eventually became integrated by use and wont as ferry boats, a custom which persisted at least until the end of the eighteenth century.⁵¹

As early as 1527, Hector Boece described a currah as "ane bait of ane bull hid bond with na thing bot wandis.... This bait is callit ane currok".⁵² While, in 1769, Pennant provided a similar, if more detailed, account of a currah or coble, stating, "It is in shape oval, about 4 feet long and three broad, a small keel from head to stern, a few ribs cross the keel, and a ring of pliable wood round the lip of it, the whole covered with the rough hide of an ox or a horse".⁵³ A legacy from these boats is to be found in the names given to various points of ferry, for example, "Coble gait" at Caputh on the Tay;⁵⁴ the "Coble of Innerpefferay" on the Earn⁵⁵ and the "Coble of Tulloch" on the Garry.⁵⁶

The design of boats plying broad passages of water were likely to have been based on the original coble or fowareen-type boat and thus were commonly referred to as 'open boats' from the early eighteenth century. These boats achieved some notoriety in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries due to the adverse comments recorded by numerous travellers exploring hitherto little known areas of Scotland. In 1760, Dr. John Walker commented that "The boat has a Highland plaid for a sail; the running rigging is made of leather thongs and willow twigs; and a large stone and a heather rope serve for anchor and cable".⁵⁷ This view of ferry boats was confirmed by Faujas St. Fond who wrote in 1784, after crossing from Skye to Mull, that the boat in which he sailed possessed "neither decks nor rigging: she was of the worst construction".⁵⁸ The common features shared by these 'open' boats were their wooden construction, a single

mast and sail with varying numbers of oars and boatmen.

Some boats were of "large construction ... with four large sweeps and operated by four men",⁵⁹ a boat similar to that used by Boswell and Johnson in sailing from Skye to Raasay.⁶⁰ In 1801, John McCulloch had a different opinion after sailing from Skye to Arisaig. He suggested that the vessel was of "the usual fashion: no floor, no rudder, no seat aft, oars patched and spliced and nailed, no rowlocks, a mast without bolt of halyards: and all things fitting. The rowers soon stopped rowing and the sail could not be hoisted as there was a lack of halyards. There was no tack sheet with 3' or 4', the after leach being torn away. When the sail was set it was in the shape of a night-cap. The boat began to go backwards".⁶¹ He later commented that a seat in a ferry boat amounted to "half a board shoved into the angle of the sharp stern" and continued, "there was no floor" and the oars "hung on pins and were in danger of breaking" and the sail was "a blanket with no sheet, halyard or tack".⁶²

In nineteenth-century documents the name 'wherry' was applied to a small boat, possessing both oars and sail, which was used as a ferry boat mainly servicing the passages across the Forth, Tay, Clyde and Cromarty Firths. It retained similar characteristics to the ancient Shetland "long boat which carries ten to twelve men easily and which is extremely sharp fore and aft. It has no floor but rise with an almost flat, straight side so that the traverse section resembles a

wedge".⁶³ The dimensions of a wherry had been greatly reduced in comparison with the 'long boat' as it only measured "... about 18' long and 5½' to 6' wide", with "the bow and stern curving upwards some 12" or 15" from the centre. There was one sail only".⁶⁴ Fewer men were required as only "one man held the tiller on his shoulder and the sail by a rope with one hand".⁶⁵ The hallmark of this particular design lay in the unusual curve from stem to stern which gave both the 'long boat' and the wherry the capacity to sail swiftly and safely.⁶⁶

In keeping with industrial invention current in the nineteenth century, new ideas emerged relating to the improvement of ferries. One idea concerned the introduction of a boat operated on a fixed chain which superseded the conventional ferry boat at some locations. One of the earliest versions of a chain ferry boat was introduced to negotiate the Clyde at Govan in 1734. This boat was "chain operated by two men winding the chain on to a wheel on board the vessel, thus pulling her from one side of the river to the other".⁶⁷ A later edition of this type of chain ferry was established on the Clyde at Lampits.⁶⁸ Improvements on original models were made by James Fraser, mill-wright of Dowally, an inventor who placed "two boats alongside each other at a distance of a few feet and connecting amidships by a platform, moveable on pivots, placed at the centre of each boat and by a connecting moveable rod fastened to the stern heads. The vessel is slipped on a chain - there being suitable apparatus for changing the relative position of the boats and the platform".⁶⁹ The subtlety of this design

enabled these boats to be set in an oblique position to the stream. Thus, the impulse of the current could manipulate the boat without additional men being required. Such boats were employed at the ferry passages of Logierait⁷⁰ and Kinclaven on the Tay and of Drygrange on the Tweed⁷¹, in addition to the one at Lampits on the Clyde.

The technical improvements incorporated in chain ferries resulted in financial gain for four main reasons; the saving of labour costs, greater capacity for passengers and goods, increased frequency across the passage and greater facility for loading and unloading. At the locations mentioned environmental conditions were suitable for the employment of a chain-operated boat. At Lampits, for example, it was said that "the depth and placidity of the water are well adapted at this spot for a fairly constant service".⁷² These conditions permitted untroubled crossings and allowed horse-drawn vehicles, even four-wheeled carriages, to be easily driven on and off the boat without unhitching and manhandling. However, many passages were unsuitable for chain ferry boats mainly because of the environment and the nature of the water at crossing points. Furthermore, the rigidity of propulsion and the unwieldy structure of the chain ferry boat also contributed to its unsuitability for use on other ferry passages. Nevertheless, for the most part, where chain ferries were established they operated successfully for about a hundred years.

The most notable development in the history of ferry boats was the advent of steam in the early 1800s. The influence of

harnessing the hitherto elusive aspects of distance and time transformed ferry services. This was most apparent in certain regions, namely, at the major ferries on the Forth, Tay and Clyde and on the water passages communicating with the Western Isles. The process of improvement in relation to these ferries was eventually echoed, albeit with more caution and less speed, in less important ferries.⁷³

Bell's "Comet" staked a claim to be the first steam ferry boat in 1812 as it plied between Glasgow and Greenock on the Clyde. It was 43' 6" long, 11' 4" beam, 5' 9" deep and 24⁵⁸/94 tons burden. A four horse-power engine powered it and it was propelled by two paddle wheels on each side. It achieved a speed of five knots per hour. A crew of eight was required and entertainment was provided by a piper.⁷⁴

The acquisition of steam boats to service the Forth, Tay and Clyde ferries was quickly perceived by their controlling corporations as a unique opportunity to extend the scale of ferry operations. Such a venture raised a conflict between the outlay of excessive financial investment and the obvious advantages in the provision of boats which were better in design, construction and power. However, doubts regarding the viability of such innovation were overcome. Strong arguments in favour of steam boats were presented by influential investors. There was controversy at Alloa, in 1821, regarding the choice of possible investment being allocated either to buying a steam ferry boat or to building a bridge. It was decreed that a steam ferry boat be

purchased because "the opinion is that such a Boat will in great measure answer the purpose of a Bridge and bring an immense increase of traffic to the Ochil Hills. Lord Abercromby and Mr. Johnstone are in great hopes that the load will soon defray the yearly expenditure".⁷⁵ These gentlemen, the earl of Dunmore and others were of the opinion that Alloa Ferry would "become the principal point of communication between the North and the South of Scotland"⁷⁶ in the future. The Committee of Trustees which managed the ferries on the Queensferry Passage had similar aspirations for that area of the country and, in 1821, the "Queen Margaret" was launched at a cost of £2,369 as the first steam ferry boat on the Forth.⁷⁷ In addition, in 1824, the "George IV" steam ferry boat was established on the Tay between Dundee and Newport.

These boats were naturally larger and more powerful than any of their predecessors. The "George IV" was 90' long, 29' broad and 6'8" in depth of hold. When light, 4½' of water was drawn and when loaded rarely more than 5'4". Captain Basil Hall described this boat as "a double kind of steam boat, with a single paddle-wheel working in the middle between two divisions or separate boats placed parallel to each other at a distance of 8' apart. Over these two divisions are placed horizontal beams covered by a deck, the planks of which, instead of being placed fore-and-aft, in the usual way, cross the vessel from side to side and therefore contribute greatly to the strength of the whole".⁷⁸

Rapid advance in design of both boat construction and engines permitted a constant up-dating of boats acting as ferries. For example, the steam boat employed on the Forth at Alloa in 1822 was powered by a sixteen horse-power engine which was a considerable increase on the four horse-power produced by the first engine in Bell's "Comet".

The desire to achieve material well-being which was emerging in the early 1800s, was reflected in increased attention to detail and emphasis on the furnishings of ferry boats. Greater sophistication was demanded, not only in the technical engineering issues and safety standards but in personal comfort and aesthetic appreciation. Mindful of these objectives, a new ferry boat for the Erskine ferry on the Clyde was required to meet the following conditions: "the hull is to be of iron: the length 50': breadth 30', depth of ends 20': depth of amidships 40': rise of deck longitudinally 4" and cross midships 2". The staffing box covers to be all of brass and all journals of pulleys, engine and gearing to work in brass bushes. All cocks to be of brass. All valves and valve seats to be of brass. Seats to be of Yellow Pine".⁷⁹

Social and material considerations amalgamated to precipitate the adoption of steam-driven ferry boats to operate, not only from the Western Isles to and from the mainland but also to establish inter-island communication.⁸⁰ In this connection three factors appeared to predominate; the need for increased import and export trade; the benefits

of an improved postal system and more opportunities for social intercourse and education. Reliance on packet boats of a yawl-type design "of some 60 tons burden"⁸¹ had hitherto led to poor communication based on a haphazard service to the Isles. The introduction of steam ferry boats radically changed this system and a regular, safe and reliable pattern became established by the middle of the nineteenth century. In addition, communication routes were opened up between Glasgow and the Western Isles.⁸²

Lack of detailed evidence in the documents concerning boat maintenance suggests there was little or no public concern for safety factors until the nineteenth century. Therefore, it appears likely that any maintenance work was either neglected or undertaken out of necessity. However, a directive was issued on 13th October 1749 by the Court of the Admiralty held in Dunfermline concerning the boats on the Queensferry Passage which decreed that, "Boats be inspected twice a year by an able carpenter and sailor and reports be made by them to the Judges on the First Friday in April and October".⁸³ Much later, in 1819, the Dundee Passage Trustees agreed to carry out "the repairs and alterations, if any, that may be required upon the same (ferry boats), whether up the hulls or rigging". In general, however, records were concerned largely with the costs involved in repair work. Until the early 1800s, such costs were directly related to the price of timber and the hire of carpenters so the outlay was moderate. In 1690, for example, the bill for refurbishing "The Mayflower" a Forth

ferry boat servicing the Burntisland to Leith passage, was rendered by the carpenters Charles Watssone, James Wilson, James Torpie and Walter Collier. The final total amounted to £89. 11s. 0d.⁸⁴ By 1752 prices had risen, even in remote areas, as Joseph Brieden, tacksman of the Haughhead ferry in the vicinity of Innerleithan on the Tweed, was paid "4/8d for pitching the Boat with 8 pints of tar at 7d per pint" having already received instructions "to beet her yearly with Pick and Ocum and to patch with Wood".⁸⁵ By the eighteenth century, proprietors of ferries on which several ferry boats were employed could be subjected to substantial bills for repair and maintenance. Some public corporations astutely avoided these responsibilities by including a clause in the lease of a ferry let which required the licensee "to leave the ferry boat sufficient at least that shall be worth £50 Scots at his Removal...".⁸⁶ However, individual proprietors who paid the necessary bills were probably satisfied both with the profits they made and with the personal convenience of owning a boat. The duke of Gordon came into this category. In 1770, William Burgess rendered an account for the work done on "the big boat" and "the yawl" including "the chain and lock" and "shods and things". The total bill amounted to £5. 17s. 0d. A further account in 1780 listed more extensive work and resulted in a bigger bill which included, in addition to "carpentry work", the price of "5 pairs of oars", "2 gangways" and "an anchor". The final sum was £70. 1s. 6d.⁸⁷

With the introduction of steam boats, the traditional use of wood to build ferry boats and their furnishings changed to mainly iron, steel and brass. The new materials, together with increasing size and sophistication of design and construction of boats, raised the cost of building and maintenance. Indeed, although the financial viability of a ferry service had always depended upon the balance achieved between income from cargo and outlay in purchase and maintenance, a possible debit was more likely in the later nineteenth century than previously.

Changing social and economic circumstances were reflected in the increasing variety of passengers and cargo transported by ferry.⁸⁸ The demands made to accommodate bulkier cargo, together with technological advances, exercised a strong influence on the development of ferry boats⁸⁹ including changes in design and construction. In addition, the location of the ferry passage dictated to some extent the type of cargo to be transported. Major ferries across the Forth, Tay and Clyde were concerned with universal cargoes and operated at a national level of importance while minor ferries and, in the main, ferries to the Western Isles, were limited to cargoes consistent only with local requirements.

Cargoes transported by ferry boats fell into three principal categories, namely, human, animal and goods. The democratic use of ferry boats by all ranks, professions and classes of people was an ancient right established by custom and only queried in times of unrest and military intervention.

The name "Queensferry" is a memorial to Queen Margaret whose body was ferried over the water to be buried in Dunfermline⁹⁰ in 1093. Until the seventeenth century, ferries regularly transported royalty, particularly across the Forth and Tay, as kings and queens of Scotland and their courts moved between royal palaces. Similarly, church dignitaries travelled on ferry boats in their perambulations between cathedrals, monasteries and churches. The amenity offered by ferries was also accessible to craftsmen as early as the twelfth century in order to reach their place of work. At that time "a great number of carpenters were drowned in the ferry opposite to the point of Ardesier"⁹¹ when work was progressing in the building of the cathedrals of Elgin and Fortrose. Records also show that before 1603 foreign officials of state were transported by ferry boats in pursuit of their duties.⁹²

The strategic value of ferry boats was obvious and self-interest was evident in obtaining control of these. In 1599, James VI commandeered "all and sundry vessels within the west seas. The said boats are required to be in readiness to attend for transporting the army".⁹³ Again in 1651, "General Cromwell and his army crossed the Firth of Forth, landing at Inverkeithing"⁹⁴ and it is possible that all available ferry boats were commandeered in order to accomplish this. In later national crises in 1715 and 1745 intense military interest centred on the ferry boats at the Meikle Ferry on the Cromarty Firth and at Boat of Bog and other points of ferry on the River Spey. The possibility of these boats transporting military personnel was a matter of

concern for both the rebels and the government.⁹⁵

Members of the judiciary were frequent passengers on ferry boats, particularly in the nineteenth century when judges pursued a designated circuit. At that time, Lord Cockburn recorded that "The Strome Ferry is like the rest - picturesque - and as well managed as mere hands, without proper boats, piers or any apparatus, can ever manage".⁹⁶

Small ferry boats, in different rural areas of the country, made a singular contribution during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the religious well-being of local populations. Congregations and ministers were often dependent on the availability of a ferry boat for transport to church. In 1670, at Preston on the Whitadder, there was "No sermon by reason of the greatness of the water, so it could not be past by the Minister".⁹⁷ Such problems still arose two centuries later as, in 1830, "the swollen state of these rivers by which ferries are rendered impracticable" made "frequent interruptions to regularity of attendance"⁹⁸ for church congregations at Logierait on the Tay.

The transport of cattle was common at most ferries but boats, particularly at small ferries, were ill-equipped to accommodate this cargo. Different methods of conveyance were employed according to the adequacy of the boat and the number of cattle to be ferried. Tariffs showed that cattle could be either "bound and laid" or "standing" in a boat, the charge being less for the latter.⁹⁹ To transport a large

number of cattle in this way was tedious and uneconomical, therefore a widespread practice was enacted which involved cattle swimming across the passage.¹⁰⁰ However, many cattle drowned and it was not surprising to find, in 1828, a petition from Captain John McDougall, proprietor of "the ferry of Port Kerera, the principal passage from the Island of Mull to the mainland" requesting the Commissioners of Supply Committee to "shut up the present route for the Black Cattle when he shall have built a proper Boat for the above mentioned purpose".¹⁰¹ The suggestion that a special boat be designed for the transport of cattle was adopted and was described by Mitchell as having "great width of beam with the cattle fastened with their heads to rings on the gunwale of each side".¹⁰² Designers of the first steam ferry boats, also, were aware of the need to accommodate cattle and modified the construction of their boats accordingly. Captain Hall described the Tay ferry boat "George IV" which plied from Dundee to Newport in 1824 as having space "railed off for cattle at each end".¹⁰³

Horses as well as cattle formed another major cargo. The published rates for freight carried by ferry boats were itemised as "country horses", "pedlars' horses", "saddle horses", "horse and cart", "4-wheeled chaise and 2 horses" etc.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, all horse-drawn vehicles, with the possible exception of large stage coaches, were common cargo on ferry boats during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The postal system relied heavily on ferry boats for the transportation of mail but the necessary efficiency and

reliability were only gradually achieved, particularly in the Western Highlands and Islands.¹⁰⁵ Delays at ferries were frequent and this was a concern expressed by the Convention of Royal Burghs as early as 1729 when they instructed the magistrates of Edinburgh, Kinghorn and Dundee to order "their shoar masters or others concerned in the passage of boats to give the said runners (carriers of mail) as ready passage and at as easy a rate as possible".¹⁰⁶ In 1797, the efficacy of transporting mail at night was quickly recognised by Francis Freeling, Secretary to the Post Office, and this became common practice at a usual charge of 6d. for each crossing.¹⁰⁷ In the early nineteenth century, special regulations were applied to facilitate the passage of mail at the Queensferry Passage. "Hitherto, mail passed in daylight, now it must be done at night. This required a night crew to be kept on both sides (mail going both north and south) and a boat suitable for transporting mail in all weathers".¹⁰⁸ The introduction of reliable steam ferry boats provided a solution to many of the problems which had beset early attempts to establish a well-regulated postal service.¹⁰⁹

Ferry boats were sometimes used for illegal purposes. In the early 1800s, the illegal carriage of mail was often undertaken by ferry boats that were also obtaining revenue as official Post Office carriers. This form of smuggling proved a lucrative source of income which taxed the ingenuity of the Post Office authorities in their efforts to stop it.¹¹⁰ Whisky was another illicit cargo¹¹¹ although Customs officers would often be travelling as passengers.¹¹²

The complexity of problems that arose from loading and unloading heavy and bulky cargoes were only gradually overcome. During the eighteenth century, ferry boats did not always have the capacity or the facility to carry the type of cargo then requiring transportation. Horses posed particular problems. Pococke experienced such circumstances in 1767 and related "... we crossed the river in a ferry boat but the horses had to ford".¹¹³ Again, at Ballachulish in 1792, Lettice reported that, "the boat being too small for our horses to pass over at the same time as ourselves we chose they should make the experiment first".¹¹⁴

Nevertheless, some adaptations were made to meet the requirements of specific cargoes. In the early days of the cattle trade (prior to the mid-eighteenth century) cattle had to swim behind the ferry boats. Occasionally, adjustments were made to accommodate a few cattle in a ferry boat by placing "Boughs at the bottom to preserve the Boat which is slight".¹¹⁵ These boughs were likely to be bracken, birch or osier twigs and not only protected the timber of the boat but provided safe footing for cattle and allowed cattle dung to be filtered, thus preventing the water pumps in larger boats from being clogged up.¹¹⁶ In the nineteenth century, larger boats with the capacity to hold up to fifty cattle were used. Beasts were often hoisted on and off these ferry boats by the use of a rough block and tackle attached to the yard from the mast.¹¹⁷

Even on large ferry boats, the shape of carts, which were increasingly awkward as they became larger, presented difficulties

of loading and unloading. For example, the "Muckle Boat" at Caputh on the Tay could accommodate "two loaded carts with shafts turned towards the ends of the boat or four unloaded carts with shafts in the air". For loading at this ferry the procedure entailed unhitching the horse, then one boatman "had to stand between the shafts when lowering (the cart) on the further lip of the boat". However, "if the men at the wheels let go before the cart was safely let down, the unlucky 'boaty' would find himself sprawling in the water". The horses stood in the middle of the boat held there by another boatman.¹¹⁸

Greater efficiency of loading was achieved with chain ferry boats which allowed horses and carts or carriages to drive on and off without either horses being unhitched or vehicles manhandled. The advent of steamboats likewise facilitated ease of loading and unloading cargo. In 1824, the new Tay steam ferry boat at Dundee allowed "Carriages and carts to drive on one side of the river and out again on the other without removing the horses".¹¹⁹

Until the early nineteenth century, disregard for the quality of landing-places, delayed attempts to facilitate movement of cargo on and off ferry boats. Concerning the Forth ferry at Kirkcaldy, in 1683, the magistrates were accused of failing to provide "sufficient bridges on the shoar for receiving men, horse and cattell".¹²⁰ Little progress had been made by 1807 at ferry locations on the Forth when it was reported that "Piers are few and ill-constructed and so placed

as to give no facility in crossing when wind and tide are unfavourable to a direct passage".¹²¹ If landing-places at large ferries continued to be inadequate, it is not surprising that at smaller ferries they received little or no attention. In 1773, Johnson complained about inadequate landing places in the Western Isles mentioning the one on the island of Raasay in particular; "We had, as at all other places, some difficulty in landing. The craggs were irregularly broken and a false step would have been very mischievous".¹²²

A few enlightened and astute individual proprietors, such as the duke of Gordon, not only perceived the need for improved landing places in the eighteenth century, but gave orders for the construction work to be carried out. In 1770, John Gordon of Laggan and May Gordon, licensees of the Boat of Bog ferry, were required by the duke of Gordon "to have a Gangway made ... for the more easy taking of horses and carriages".¹²³

With the employment of steam ferry boats in the early nineteenth century, John Rennie submitted surveys concerning the renewal of landing places on the Forth and Tay in order to cater effectively for the demands being made. His recommendations, together with those of Thomas Telford, were welcomed by the appropriate authorities. The urgency with which these plans were implemented reflected the realisation of the possible benefits accruing from the maximum use of the new boats. Thus, in 1824, "New low-water piers were built so that steam boats can be placed at any time or weather along the

sides or across the end".¹²⁴ This work was promoted by the Dundee Tay Passage Trustees. Similar reconstruction work was taking place at ferry locations on the Forth and elsewhere.

Prior to the nineteenth century, the need for transport, travel and communication was largely restricted to certain sections of the population. Even so, the type of boat employed at many ferry passages failed to meet the relatively modest requirements. The description of the state of ferry boats made by Sir John Sinclair in 1795 would probably have been just as applicable to many ferry boats in the nineteenth century as in the period when he made his observation. He noted that

"... in regard to the service itself, by any improvement either for embarkation, or on board the boats, in fitness and accommodation, or care in the skilfulness of the ferriers: these have hitherto been almost wholly disregarded. Let but a stranger from a more enlightened country peruse our boats, their internal arrangement, tackle and apparel and the dexterous skill of our navigators, he certainly cannot but admire our confident boldness in the first instance: but he must sadly deplore our scandalous neglect and unambitious supineness".¹²⁵

However, the growth of trade, the improved and extended system of roads, together with developments in education and a growing awareness of the existence of other communities stimulated travel and the movement of goods. Consequently, it was imperative that ferry boats should be speedy, safe, efficient and comfortable.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

In this research, the evidence drawn from the identification, and in most cases, the evolution of ferries at 431 locations, as listed in the Gazetteer, provides a foundation for establishing certain trends and patterns regarding Scottish ferries. Ferries were only one method, often dangerous and inconvenient, of effecting a crossing over water and eventually, due to technological progress and economic necessity, bridges replaced ferries across appropriate stretches of water.

Regarding documentation, the loss of papers and the lack of classification often resulted in vitally important information being unavailable. Although, inevitably, there is dependence upon available documentation in order to establish the existence of a ferry, no assumption can be made regarding the exclusiveness of such information. References to ferries were frequently only recorded at times when complaints were made, money was required, accidents occurred or when public attention was directed to the malfunction of a ferry service. It is possible, therefore, for the assumption to be made that some ferries served the public in their vicinity either without difficulties arising or at least without prevailing difficulties being recorded and these ferries remain untraced. In this connection, it is noteworthy that even for the duration of both the 1715 and 1745 uprisings no mention could be found of these events in the

contemporary narratives and rewrites of the nationally important ferries on the Forth, Tay and Clyde or of the ferry across the Tay at Perth in relation to the military use of these ferries. Either these ferries were never directly involved in activities linked with the uprisings, even to the extent of transporting troops, which seems an unlikely supposition as government troops were frequently on the move and Perth itself was a garrison town, or troops were transported regularly in the normal way by these ferries and no incident connected with this occurred that was worth recording. In some cases, it may be that the relevant papers have not yet been classified or are lost.

Although the beginnings of the modernisation of the Scottish economy were rooted in the late seventeenth century, the agricultural, technological and industrial changes which promoted the economic take-off did not occur until after the mid-eighteenth century. Therefore, if the development of ferries is to be properly assessed it is necessary to examine the place of ferries in both the era of pre-modernisation and during that of modernisation.

The pre-modernisation period

In Scotland in the seventeenth century and before, river ferries were more numerous than those serving estuaries, sea-lochs or the islands. Furthermore, the great majority of these river ferries were located on rivers in the east of the country. At that time, at least eleven ferries plied across

the River Tay between Perth and Logierait, nine operated on the River Spey on the relatively short stretch of water between Craigellachie and Grantown and there were at least twenty-seven ferries effecting crossings over the River Dee between Peterculter and Braemar. In the west of Scotland only the River Clyde, and to a much lesser extent the River Irvine, required the use of ferry boats. Eight ferry locations were to be found on the River Clyde between Dalserf and Robertson in the seventeenth century. The small rivers north of Inverness which, for the most part, are tempestuous and fast flowing and therefore not conducive to providing safe passage for ferry boats. Thus, in the seventeenth century, fording was the common though hazardous practice in this area. However, ferries were able to operate in at least two locations on the rivers Awe, Beauly, Conon, Hope and Navar. In the south of Scotland, the Rivers Tweed and Teviot in particular were easily forded and relatively few ferry services were required. However, ferry locations were to be found at eight different places on the River Tweed between Wark and Darnwick.

In the seventeenth century, according to the prevailing feudal land-owning system in Scotland, people in rural areas were settled in the vicinity of royal domains, religious institutions, castles and country houses with few villages and a scarcity of towns of any size or importance. A number of river ferries were found to be in close proximity to these residences but it is uncertain which were established first,

the residences or the ferries. There were obvious mutual benefits available to both the residents and the ferry proprietor. It was possible, even probable, that the proprietor of the ferry rights was also the owner of the property served by the ferry: for example, the proprietors of the lands round Alloa, Port-on-Craig and Corehouse on the Forth, Tay and Clyde estuaries respectively also owned ferries.¹ Additional benefits were available in connection with the establishment of burghs. Ferries in the neighbourhood of settlements which became burghs shared in the prosperity which the privileges of trade, incorporated in the new status, brought to the local community.

Prior to the seventeenth century, more river ferries might have been required if a number of bridges had not already been erected over some of the important river crossings. Many of these bridges, originally constructed of wood, were rebuilt of stone although at that time the technological problems posed often remained unsolved. Attempts were made to build a bridge over the Tay at Dunkeld between 1461 and 1561² but these proved abortive and the ferries continued to operate. By the fifteenth century, bridges spanned the Forth at Stirling, the Clyde at Bothwell and at Glasgow, the Earn at Bridge of Earn, the Allan Water at Dunblane, the Nith at Dumfries, the Tweed at Peebles and the Ayr at Ayr. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, additional bridges were established over the Rivers Almond at Cramond, the Teith at Doune, the Avon at Hamilton and the Eden at Guardbridge.³ These bridges were not always sufficiently

substantial to withstand the effects of the elements and when they disintegrated were temporarily replaced by ferries. The most important example of this was at Perth where the existing stone bridge was irretrievably damaged in 1621 and was replaced by at least twenty-five ferry boats. This ferry service continued until 1771 when a new bridge was completed.⁴ The replacement of the bridge by ferry boats must inevitably have caused delays and difficulties which in turn probably proved a handicap to the development of trade.

The poor provision of good roads, particularly west and north of the central belt, curtailed the overland transportation of goods and people in the seventeenth century. Therefore, the availability of ferries serving the east coast estuary ports was an essential link not only in domestic trading but in the international exchange of merchandise. At that time, a cluster of ferry locations was to be found within the boundaries of the developing burghs on the northern shores of the Firths of Forth and Tay. The Forth and Tay estuary ferries were of sufficient national importance in Scotland for attempts to be made to regularise the administration of these ferries not only in the interests of the general public but also to the benefit of ferry owners and boatmen. Difficulties arose in implementing such intentions as no consistent pattern of ownership existed. The emphasis on financial gain continued to be greater than on the improvement of the service and too many ferry boats were permitted to compete for trade. Change was envisaged within the context of the 1669 Act⁵ but little

change took place in the practical administration of ferries. As the public at large made no concerted complaint regarding ferries, even concerning those on the Forth and Tay estuaries, little attempt was made to enforce laws promoting improvements. Ferryman remained unsupervised and proprietors continued to be principally interested in the financial return they received. It is possible that the aftermath of Cromwell's invasion, the unrest of the Covenanters' campaign and the internal disruption during the reign of William III⁶ combined to constitute a climate in which little attention was paid to new regulations which referred to a service traditionally established by custom and wont.

In the seventeenth century, many estuary ferries were privately owned but increasingly local burgh councils obtained the rights of ferries in their locality. One of the reasons for this may have been rooted in the growing recognition that some centralised public control was necessary at ferries vital to the functioning of internal communication where poor administration resulted in delays and inconvenience which impeded the easy movement of freight. In addition, it is likely that these burgh councils perceived the benefits of tapping the resources of a potential financial asset. Ferry services did not produce large profits compared with other sources of invested capital but, nevertheless, a steady income could be obtained and burgh councils were not averse to receiving any addition to their revenue. Moreover, as there was then no prospect of bridges being built across any

estuary, ferries were deemed to be an unchanging form of transport across these water passages and they were therefore accepted as a permanent feature of national life. Consequently, although the maintenance of ferry services at these locations did involve some expenditure, expectations of a reasonable return from invested capital were not unfounded and traditional ferry practices continued with little interference.

In the seventeenth century, at least thirty sea-loch ferries were operating and mainly carrying passengers as there was little demand in these areas of the country for the transportation of goods. Such was the level of production that there was little or no local surplus to export even to a neighbouring area. Some sea-loch ferries did benefit from the developing cattle trade taking place in the Western Islands and West Highlands towards the end of the seventeenth century and the earnings at the ferries involved in ferrying cattle did increase although no substantial changes were made in the service. At this time, sea-loch ferries were privately owned by local landowners who obtained little financial return from largely providing a service used spasmodically by a sparse, scattered, rural population. However, many ferry proprietors in these areas were also clan chieftains who had a vested interest in maintaining control of ferries which, in times of strife, could be positions of strategic value. Otherwise, little attention was paid to the conditions of sea-loch ferries in the seventeenth century.

When considering the economic position of the Western and Northern islands in the seventeenth century little need for ferry services was indicated and in any case the necessary funds to support such a service were unavailable. No reference could be found to indicate the presence of a statutory ferry in relation to either the Inner and Outer Hebrides or to Orkney and Shetland. Nevertheless, it is clear that fishing boats and trading vessels provided adequate communication between Orkney and Shetland and the mainland. The relative proximity of Orkney and Shetland to the north coast and to the eastern seaboard of Scotland, with its prosperous burgh ports, provided sufficient opportunities to establish links with the Scottish mainland. However, the seasonal difficulties arising from climatic conditions made it difficult for shipping to operate on these routes and maintain a frequent and regular schedule, particularly in winter. These problems, also applicable to possible ferry services, might have furnished arguments against their institution. At that time, however, it seems unlikely that any proposals to inaugurate ferry services to Orkney and Shetland were put forward. Concerning the position of commercial and social interaction in the Western Islands at that time, little need for statutory island ferry services was expressed.

Although the relationship between ferries, roads and bridges is interdependent, this was not always clearly recognised in the pre-modernisation era. Economic and

social pressures then were not sufficiently great to implement the formation of a well-constructed national communication network. Apart from a brief period of Roman road building in Scotland, little was done thereafter to achieve a system of communication which was permanent and well-maintained. This position was not exclusive to Scotland but was common to the rest of Britain and indeed to Western Europe as a whole. Contact and communication did take place in spite of the lack of well-made roads as networks of paths, tracks and some highways were established.

Certain routes in Scotland were developed by the beginning of the seventeenth century, in particular those leading from the south to Edinburgh and continuing north, mainly by the east coast to Aberdeen and eventually to Inverness. According to Barrow, in medieval times,

"there was undoubtedly an expectation of wheeled traffic in the north in King Robert I's grant to the monks of Arbroath of the free ish and entry in the royal forest of Drum 'for transporting their timber with ox-wagons, carts and horses and any other method preferred'." ⁷

Originally, some roads in east and central Scotland permitted the carriage of heavy, bulky loads in the form of fuel, timber, lead and stone. Nevertheless, usage in the medieval period was no doubt mainly confined to men on foot or on horseback. Other roads or tracks were used chiefly for droves of animals. Whatever the purpose of travel, the interjection of ferries across intervening passages of water only led to inconvenience, delay and additional expense. Yet there was no alternative if

a crossing was to be undertaken, short of erecting a bridge.

In the seventeenth century, some attention was given to the possibility of improving the state of ferries in the 1669 Statute of Labour Act.⁸ The substance of this Act acknowledged the deterioration of roads in Scotland by providing legislation aimed at improving the maintenance of roads. This system of statute labour was similar to that operating in England since Tudor times.⁹ The need for improved roads accelerated at the beginning of the eighteenth century, particularly during the 1715 uprising when poor communication routes hampered the movement of troops. To a certain extent this need was met by Wade's, and later, Caulfield's road and bridge building programmes which provided the beginnings of a communication system that contributed towards the implementation of the agricultural, industrial and commercial potential indicated in the late seventeenth century Scotland.

New expectations and demands were reflected in the employment of more convenient methods of transport. While most people continued to travel on foot or horseback, it became less unusual for wheeled vehicles to be employed. The increased need for the haulage of grain and other agricultural products over longer distances promoted the use of carts. This greater use of wheeled vehicles began to affect the functioning of the ferries. Ferries which had previously been capable of meeting demands to transport goods were finding that the ferry boats were too small and of insufficient capacity. Furthermore, it was becoming clear

that special landing places would be essential for the purpose of loading and unloading wheeled vehicles and the greater volume of cargo, whereas formerly natural rocks or promontories had been sufficient. Access roads to ferries also came under scrutiny as these were mostly tracks only suitable for men on foot or on horseback. Wider, more solidly constructed approaches to ferries were a prerequisite if numbers of wheeled vehicles were going to be accommodated.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the growth of Glasgow due in part to the rapid development of the colonial tobacco trade¹⁰ and the increased importance of the city as a grain market elevated the west of Scotland into a more commercially influential position. The main Glasgow to Edinburgh road gained importance as a vital highway in central Scotland and a stage coach was established in 1678 to run between Edinburgh, Haddington and Glasgow.¹¹ In 1660, efforts were made to clear the sandbanks around the Broomielaw to attempt to deepen the estuary bed and allow shipping direct access to the city. Proprietors of ferries on the Clyde estuary and river, south of Glasgow had to consider the increasing volume and diversity of traffic in order to gauge any appropriate response. In fact, little change occurred at Clyde estuary ferries but on the River Clyde at least three bridges were built between 1649 and 1699 replacing ferries in each case.¹²

The position of ferries in the pre-modernisation era, i.e. prior to the 1750s, was essentially one of little change. Ferries

then were a vital factor in the national communication network irrespective of geographical location or commercial worth but little flexibility towards appropriate change was demonstrated. Ferry proprietors seemed unwilling to apply any business acumen to the administration of ferries; ferrymen operated the service with little need for accountability and the public at large, ignorant of alternative standards, accepted the prevailing inconvenient conditions as an inevitable hazard of travel.

The effect of the modernisation of the Scottish economy on ferries and the system of communication in Scotland

The take-off period of the modernisation of the Scottish economy in the 1750s evolved from the combination of a new set of circumstances including the growth of population, the development of technology in industry, improved agricultural methods and the adoption of new attitudes of enlightenment. The advance in technology probably exercised the greatest influence on the functioning of ferries particularly when steam-powered ferry boats were employed. New technology also contributed to the engineering skills required to build bridges. Consequently, the effect on ferries was detrimental as many were replaced by bridges. However, according to the records, an increased number of ferries, particularly on rivers, appeared to be operating towards the end of the eighteenth century but later, of course, this trend was reversed.

Many facets of the new technology could be applied to

the functioning of ferries. Greater knowledge of tides and currents, together with increased engineering ability, contributed to the construction of better and more suitable quays. Quays were built for the first time at many ferry locations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and foundations and gradients were constructed to take account of the embarking and disembarking of horses and wheeled vehicles. Similarly, new road building techniques, pioneered by McAdam and other construction engineers, improved the approaches to ferry quays. Ferry locations were frequently sited at the foot of slopes or hills and the new roads replaced wet, muddy, slippery tracks and provided firmer footing and ease of approach.

Steam power revolutionised the propulsion of boats and those ferry passages which could accommodate steam-driven boats were enabled to develop in a way that the remainder could not. Expanding engineering skills and the use of different materials for boat building which included iron, and later, steel in the place of wood, initiated new designs for the ferry boats which then incorporated steam engines. These larger, speedier, more manoeuvrable ferry boats included ramps which ensured greater ease of loading and unloading. It was no longer necessary to unhitch horses from their vehicles as it was now possible to drive straight on and off the ferry boat with the minimum of effort and delay. Furthermore, these new steam-powered ferry boats had the capacity for carrying more passengers in greater comfort while simultaneously transporting more animals

and other cargo of greater weight and bulk than ever before.

Consequently, although the capital outlay involved in the purchase of a steam-driven ferry boat was greater than that required to provide several sailing boats, at certain ferry locations the financial return justified the expense. The estuary ferries were the most suitable candidates for the transition from sail to steam. Those ferries on the Forth, Tay and Clyde estuaries were soon furnished with steam-driven boats, although for an interim period sailing boats and steam boats were used simultaneously. It was not only the financial outlay that permitted steam-powered boats to be employed in some places and not in others. The new boats required sufficient space in which to manoeuvre successfully, as well as a greater draught of water at landing places. As river ferry locations did not usually meet these requirements there was no prospect of steam-powered boats being employed at river ferries, at least in the early days of steam power. Some estuary locations were even found to be unsuitable, for example, the introduction of a steam-boat at the Kessock ferry on the Moray Firth proved to be abortive as the composition of the estuary bed at landing places presented difficulties that were insuperable at that time, consequently, sailing boats had to be re-employed.¹³ The difficulties at this ferry denied the benefits that the employment of steam-powered ferry boats might have brought to the region north of Inverness.

The Forth, Tay and Clyde estuary ferries had similar problems to overcome with the introduction of steam-powered boats but the volume of traffic carried at these ferries, together with their greater importance at a national level, speedily brought solutions and by the 1830s steam-driven ferry boats were employed at many of these estuary ferry locations. These services proved to be so successful that further developments took place, especially on the Clyde estuary. The attractions of living at a distance from Glasgow and commuting daily to work in the city proved to be an increasingly popular idea among prosperous merchants and businessmen. The frequency of ferry services to Clyde estuary resorts was increased to accommodate this new trade. The employment of steam-propelled ferry boats on the Forth, and to a lesser extent, the Tay estuaries also added a new dimension to the commercial potential of the areas bordering these Firths. On the Forth estuary, this new ferry trade was mainly concerned with the pursuit of leisure whereas on the Clyde estuary it was also part of the commercial and industrial development of Glasgow and the surrounding towns.

Steam-powered boats were of great benefit to the Western Isles and to Orkney and Shetland. Statutory ferries had only been fully established in relation to these Islands in the late eighteenth century. Unpredictable and dangerous conditions had prevented sailing boats from operating regularly or with any guarantee of safe passage between the Islands and the mainland, particularly in the six months from October to April. Steam-

driven boats were able to overcome these difficulties and were quickly employed to sail from Glasgow and other locations on the west coast to the Inner and Outer Hebrides and from Leith, Aberdeen and other east and north coast ports to Orkney and Shetland. The increased two-way trading and social interactions that the steam ferry boats established were of inestimable value to the islanders both educationally and commercially. In addition, greater encouragement and access was given to visitors to explore these little known areas and many people were attracted by the natural beauties and simple lifestyle of these remote parts of Scotland.

In the case of river ferry boats, steam propulsion could not appropriately replace the traditional oarsmen. In the main, rivers were neither broad enough nor deep enough and the flow of water was not consistent enough to accommodate the size and power of early steam-powered boats. Furthermore, no argument based on financial gain to be obtained through the employment of steam-driven boats could have been supported as most river ferries made little enough profit without the additional expense of further extensive investment. However, some ferry proprietors did hold enlightened views regarding the development of their ferries. The design of a new type of ferry boat propelled neither by oars nor by steam attracted their attention. This boat was chain-driven, had open access to enable horses pulling carts and carriages to drive on and off without delay and was easily controlled by one man. The benefits of increased capacity, ease of loading and unloading combined with cheapness of operation were obvious to proprietors of ferries where the

water passages were suitable for establishing such boats. Chain-driven ferry boats were thereafter successfully employed on certain rivers including the Tay and the Clyde.

Sea loch ferries, having much in common with island ferries including depth of water at landing places, might have benefitted from the employment of steam-powered boats. The water passages serviced by sea loch ferries may have met the conditions required to accommodate steam boats but as sea loch ferries were located in remote areas on the periphery of the Scottish mainland, they were used by only a small population and their contribution to the national communication network was not perceived to be great. Therefore, steam boats were considered to be unnecessary outlay. In an Agricultural Review written by J. Macdonald in 1811, the position of ferry proprietors in the western Highlands was described thus, "the proprietor must build quays, he must clean harbours, he must erect bridges and make roads; he must save and render comfortable the lives of the inhabitants solely and entirely at his own expense" because these areas did "not by nature have the vast advantage of being a national thoroughfare."¹⁴ Steam-powered ferry boats were employed to sail from Glasgow and the Clyde estuary to places such as Arrochar on Loch Long, Lochgilphead on Loch Gilp and Inveraray on Loch Fyne but ferry boats operating across these and other sea lochs remained small sailing or rowing boats. The opportunity was lost at that time to improve communication links and to encourage commercial

and social development in areas surrounding sea loch ferry locations.

Successful techniques for building bridges had proved elusive in the past, particularly when the foundations of a bridge required to be constructed in rocky, uneven river beds and were subject to fierce, fast flowing water. In the early eighteenth century, Wade had built a number of bridges but with the exception of the bridge over the Tay at Aberfeldy, few spanned any great width of water. Although there was no concerted programme of bridge building throughout the later eighteenth century, a number of important bridges were erected. Bridges built at Perth¹⁵ on the Tay, Thankerton¹⁶ on the Clyde and Kelso¹⁷ on the Tweed were vital links and the erection of these bridges was probably long overdue as the crossings had previously been serviced by ferries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a programme of bridge building was recommended and then supervised by Telford and contemporary engineers and many ferries were replaced by bridges at that time. The bridge over the Tay at Dunkeld, which had posed such problems to fifteenth and sixteenth century bishops in their bridge building attempts, was completed in 1809 thus replacing the Dunkeld ferries.¹⁸ Ferries on the Rivers Conan and Beaully¹⁹ and on the River Dee at Ballater²⁰ were all replaced by bridges during this period.

The growing industrial, commercial and social world of nineteenth-century Scotland demanded the necessary transportation and communication to fulfil the economic potential apparent in

different regions of the country; greater ease of access to remote areas was essential. To achieve this it was necessary for a wider selection of wheeled vehicles to be able to use a greater number of evenly surfaced, broader roads. In the climate of the accelerated rate of change taking place in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, at least thirty-one ferry passages were replaced by the building of bridges. Nevertheless, approximately one hundred and ninety-four existing ferries continued to function and in some cases conditions at these ferries not only improved but their services were expanded.

The building of railways extended the existing system of communication in Scotland and revolutionised not only modes of travel but also the carriage of goods. However, the establishing of the railway tended to enhance rather than undermine some ferry services. Travel by rail became popular and as ferry locations frequently doubled as railway termini trade at these ferries increased. Even the eventual building of the great rail carrying bridges over the Forth and Tay estuaries in the later nineteenth century did not supersede these estuary ferry services which continued to function using steam-powered ferry boats. It was only in the twentieth century with the introduction of the combustion engine and the subsequent enormous increase in motor traffic that road bridges were built across estuaries to meet the necessary demands. The estuary ferries, together with many river ferries which had served the national interest for more

than 800 years, were finally replaced. Gradually, the process of the modernisation of the Scottish economy exposed the inadequacies of ferry services which resulted in the demise of many ferries. Even in the late twentieth century, those which survive are ferries with a viable service still operating although, in some cases, there are proposals for bridges to be erected as replacements, for example between the Kyle of Lochalsh and Kyleakin on Skye. Other ferries to the Western and Northern Islands, which cover the greatest distances, do appear to be firmly established, at least until there is an extension of the present air services.

The demands of change in the 1840s, while accelerating the pattern of the closure of many ferries, at the same time stimulated progressive developments in the design and function of others. There were some ferries, however, that remained largely unaffected, for tradition dies hard, as Cockburn experienced in his journeys to the western Highlands in 1848, commenting,

"They are disgraceful ferries, having too few boats, and none of them good; no landing places; no planks, or gangways, or cranes ... Passengers, cattle and carriages are just thrown into clumsy, crazy boats and jerked by bad rowers with unsafe oars Bad though all this be, it is perhaps as good as the smallness of the traffic and the insolvency of the lairds admit of." 21

In the nineteenth century, the shaping of the national communication network was incomplete as long as the ferries which remained were not fully recognised as being equal in importance to roads and bridges.

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APPENDIX AMaintenance of ferry boat, the Mayflour
of Burntisland, 1690.

"Accompt of debursments debursed in repairing the damage sustained by the ferrieboat called the Mayflour of Burntisland (quherof James Harysone shipper) upon the 24th of January 1690 at hir comeing into Leith harbour under cloud of night with the Dens forces and their baggage, whom the ferrieboats of Burntisland were ordered to transport from Leith road conforme to Generall Major McKyes order

	Lib.	s.	d.
Imprimis is payed to John Boswell in Kirkcaldy for 3 trees to be uprights of the said ferrieboat	10	: 10	: 0
Item for bringing these trees from Kirkcaldie in a boatt	1	: 12	: 0
Item payed to James Kendall in Leith for half a barrell of pitch	7	: 0	: 0
Item payed to James Riddell for sex dailis	4	: 04	: 0
Item payed for bringing over these dailis from Leith to this town	0	: 10	: 0
Item payed for 180 tree nails	0	: 11	: 0
Item payed to Wm. Cheaplane for a barket and a knee-head	5	: 0	: 0
Item payed to the carpenters for 7 dayes work	28	: 0	: 0
Item payed for repairing the boats head and cutt water	12	: 0	: 0
Item payed to the smith for iron work	5	: 16	: 0
Item payed for two double trees or 12 elms	2	: 08	: 0
Item for loss of time untill the boat was repaired	12	: 0	: 0
Summa is	89	: 11	: 0

We, Charles Watsons, James Turpie, James Wilson and Walter Colyiar, carpenters in Bruntisland undersubscribe, do hereby attest, testify and declare that we did really repair the damage sustained by the ferrieboat called the Mayflower of the said burgh at Leith upon the 24 of January last bypast and that the same doeth truly amount to the soume of fourscore nyne pound elevine shilling scots conforme to the abovescrittine accompt, and that the articles thereof are just. As witness our hands at Bruntisland this 29th of April 1690. (Signed) Charles Watsons, carpenter: James Wilson, carpenter: James Towrpie, carpenter: Walter Colier, carpenter."

Register of Privy Council 3rd series, vol. XV, 1690, 665.

See page 97.

APPENDIX B

Letter in the Dundee Advertiser propounding argument for
a steam-driven chain ferry across River Tay at Dundee, 1834.

Sir,—I called on Wednesday, with Mr Webster, at the Exchequer Bill Loan Office, and had an interview with Mr Brickwood, and Mr Rendall, civil engineer, on the subject of a new mode, proposed by the latter, of navigating the Dundee Ferry; and, by the adoption of which, I think, there is every probability that a large sum may be annually saved to the Trustees. Mr Rendall's plan of a floating bridge, as he terms it, has been in operation on the Saltash Ferry, between Cornwall and Devonshire, for a period of between two and three years,—on another Ferry for about eighteen months,—and with so great success that it is now in the course of adoption on the Hamoaze, where a twin-boat, similar to those in use on the Tay Ferry, has been abandoned, in consequence of the great expense of working it. Mr Rendall's plan, as you probably know, is very simple. He lays one or two chains across the River, of sufficient length to allow of being raised to the surface at the deepest point. The chain or chains pass through the ferry boat or floating bridge over a roller at each end, and, at a point between the two rollers, the chains are operated upon by a toothed wheel, the cogs of which insert themselves into the links, and thus propel the boat. When this plan for navigating the Tay Ferry was first broached (about eighteen months ago), Mr Rendall was not certain that he could overcome the objection of the sand-bank in the centre of the passage, as it would be necessary to make a detour in order to avoid it; and his plan had, and has yet, been tried only on straight passages. Mr Rendall's subsequent experience, however, has convinced him that his plan is applicable to ferries such as the Dundee; and he stated that, if he should find, on a survey, no more formidable objection than that mentioned above, he would contract to navigate the Ferry for five years for £5000 a year, and find ample security for the due fulfilment of his contract. The expense, if I am not mistaken, now exceeds 3500*l.* a year. Mr Rendall will also undertake to make a survey and a report for a sum not exceeding 100*l.*

It forms a peculiar feature in Mr Rendall's plan, that, owing to the construction of his ferry boat, and the security given to it by the chains, he requires very small low-water piers; and he is of opinion that he can construct new landing places on the most eligible sites, for the interest of the Public, at a less cost than that at which he can adopt the present half-tide passage to his mode of ferrying. In Mr Rendall's estimate of the annual expense of working the Ferry, he assumes that the passage and the boat have been adapted to his principle. The expense of doing this will not be great. The Exchequer Bill Loan Commissioners are so satisfied of its practicability, that they are disposed to afford every facility for the adoption of Mr Rendall's plan; and it is to be hoped that no private interests will be allowed to stand in the way of an arrangement which, if it shall succeed, will be of so great importance to the North of Scotland; for, if it succeed in the Tay, there is no reason why it should not also on the Forth, for the objections arising out of the additional width form no obstacle that cannot be overcome. Mr Rendall declined to enter into any explanation of the means by which he proposed to obviate the objection of the circuitous course rendered necessary by the sand-bank; but the Trustees ought not to hesitate a moment as to the means which it will become *them* to adopt for remedying this evil, if they agree to try Mr Rendall's plan,—viz. to take that passage which shall be shown to be most advantageous to the Public, and which will certainly not be the one now in use.

Some persons may suppose that the chain may form an obstruction to the navigation of the River; but this is not the case, as it is laid along the bottom, and the only part in suspension is that immediately close to the vessel, and it falls precipitously from each end. The wheel which acts upon the chain is moved by a steam-power, and it is found that the force of one horse exerted upon the chain in the way proposed, is equivalent to that of ten horses exerted upon paddles in the water.

The subject is of so great interest to your readers, that I make no apology for asking you to give insertion to this letter. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

P. CHALMERS.

Junior United Service Club, London,
February 27, 1834.

The Saltash Ferry is about 1500 feet wide, the rise of tide 18 feet, and the greatest depth at low water 110 feet.

Mr. Rendall's plan was never implemented.

SRO GD 224/725/5/43

Papers donated by His Grace The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, KT.

APPENDIX CFERRY WINTER TIME TABLE, 1842**BURNTISLAND & GRANTON FERRY.***WINTER HOURS.*

On and after TUES-
DAY, 1st OCTOBER,
and until further no-
tice, the New STEAM-



BOATS on the GRANTON and BURNTIS-
LAND FERRY will depart from each side as
follows :—

FROM GRANTON.

1st Boat at 50 min. past 5 A.M.
2d do. at 30 " " 8 A.M.
3d do. at 30 " " 10 A.M.
4th do. at 12 noon.
5th do. at 2 P.M.
6th do. at 5 P.M.

FROM BURNTISLAND.

1st Boat at 15 min. past 7 A.M.
2d do. at 9 A.M.
3d do. at 30 " " 10 A.M.
4th do. at 12 noon.
5th do. at 25 " " 3 P.M.
6th do. at 30 " " 5 P.M.

*SUNDAY HOURS.**FROM GRANTON.*

1st Boat at 50 min. past 5 A.M.
2d do. at 30 " " 9 A.M.
3d do. at 15 " " 2 P.M.

FROM BURNTISLAND.

1st Boat at 8 A.M.
2d do. at 1 P.M.
3d do. at 25 min. past 3 P.M.

N.B.—In order to secure regular Embarkation, it is
necessary that Carriages, Carts, Horses, Cattle, and Goods
should be on the Piers not less than Fifteen Minutes be-
fore the departure of the Boats.

For the Proprietors,

PETER WORK, Superintendent
at Burntisland.

JAMES HUME, Superintendent
at Granton.

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391	Colquhoun of Luss.
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445	Neven of Windhouse.
450	Gardie House.
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627	Balfour of Balfour and Trenable.
653	Miss Horseman, Drimin.
771	Macpherson-Grant of Ballindalloch.
776	Earl of Mansfield.
783	Earl of Dundee.
852	Hunter of Hunterston.
861	Leslie of Kininvie.
874	Berry of Tayfield.
885	Glamis.
925	Earl of Errol.
934	Campbell-Preston of Ardchattan

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 T-BK 163/18 Erskine ferry.
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FERRIES IN SCOTLAND BETWEEN 1603 AND
THE ADVENT OF STEAM

by

L. M. W. WEIR

VOLUME II



GAZETTEER

PREFACE

The locations for ferries in the Gazetteer are based on Ordnance Survey maps 7th Series, One inch to One Statute mile = 1/63360. Each ferry site is identified by a four figure grid reference. In a few cases, there were problems with the Ordnance Survey map references and these fell into two categories. In the first, the Ordnance Survey mapping did not include all the ferries that were identified, so that the grid reference was established on the basis of information derived from the records. In the second category, the exact position of the site could not be located because insufficient information was available and so no map reference could be given.

In general, ferry boats serving local communities and crossing short distances were based on one side of the passage and where this criteria applies only one location for such a ferry is given.

Every effort has been made to ensure that the Gazetteer is as comprehensive as possible and sincere apologies are made in the event of any omission. Concerning transit to the smaller islands no trace could be found in the records of ferries that possibly did exist. Consequently, ferry services to islands such as Muck and Eigg could not be included in the Gazetteer.

LIST OF FERRIES IN SCOTLAND BETWEEN 1600 AND THE ADVENT OF STEAM

Although this list of ferries is arranged in alphabetical order, the title of some ferries has been listed according to common usage e.g. Boat of Bridge instead of Bridge, Boat of. In other cases, where a particular ferry has several names such as Boat of Bog, also known as Boat of Gight or Fochabers, the title has been listed as Bog, Boat of or Gight, Boat of or Fochabers.

There are also ferries where the pronunciation and spelling of the name is variable and in such cases all the alternatives are listed in alphabetical order, e.g. Baldsyde, Bielside, Boldside and Boleside.

Where there is more than one ferry with the same name these have been identified by recording the area, in brackets, after the name, e.g. Banchory (Devenick) and Banchory (Ternan).

Ferry passages less than half-a-mile wide have only been given one map reference in the Gazetteer, e.g. Caputh on the River Tay.

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KEY TO THE GAZETTEER

1. Name.
2. Region.
3. Water passage and opposite ferry terminal where appropriate.
Approximate distance when half-a-mile or more.
4. O.S. map reference.
5. Approximate mileage to other centres in the locality.
6. Date when ferry began.
7. Date when ferry ceased. Reason for closure if known.
8. Earliest date when ferry was known to be functioning.
9. Number of boats used.
10. Type of boat(s) used.
11. Ownership of ferry.
12. Ferry tacksman, ferryman or ferrymen.
13. Regulations. Ferry Rates.
14. Cargo.
15. Additional information.

Abbey St. Bathans

1. Abbey St. Bathans.
2. Border.
3. River Whitadder.
4. NT 7662.
5. Duns 8, Grantshouse 4.
7. 1860s. A footbridge erected.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat (small).
14. Local inhabitants.
15. Twelfth century Cistercian nunnery founded at Abbey
St. Bathans. Ferry probably established at that time.

Abbotsford

1. Abbotsford.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 5034.
5. Melrose 2.
8. 1811 - 1886.
9. One.
11. Previous to 1811, owners of Cartley Hole Farm.
 1811, Sir Walter Scott.
14. Mainly Sir Walter Scott, family and employees.
15. Water passage previously known as Cartley Hole.
 Ford used by monks of Melrose Abbey to drive cattle
 across River Tweed.

Abbotshaugh

1. Abbotshaugh.
2. Central.
3. River Carron.
4. NS 8981.
5. Falkirk 2, Grangemouth 1.
8. 1700.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. James Guidlat.
14. Local inhabitants. Goods.
15. 1700. An agreement reached between James Guidlat of Abbotshaugh and Robert Elphinstone of Carronshore to honour James Guidlat's right of ferry. Robert Elphinstone was permitted to keep "ane boat for the transporting of himself and family and other of his particular acquaintances" but his tenants could not use his private boat instead of the ferry. Penalty to be imposed of £5 Scots each time this happened. James Guidlat was entitled to employ the "common ferry".

Aberdour

1. Aberdour.
2. Fife.
3. Firth of Forth. Leith 8.
4. NT 1984.
5. Burntisland 4. Inverkeithing 4.
8. 18th century.
9. Prior to 1791. Several, exact number unknown.
1791. One.
1821. One.
10. Until 1821. Yawl or pinnace.
After 1821. Steam boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Freight, particularly grain in 1790s.
15. 1818. Fife Ferry Trustees established another boat at Aberdour without authority but Court of Session ruling prevented this ferry boat from continuing to function.

Aberfeldy

1. Aberfeldy.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay.
4. NN 8649.
5. Crieff 24. Dunkeld 18. Perth 32. Pitlochry 15.
7. 1733. Replaced by bridge designed by Wade.
8. 1681.
11. Earl of Breadalbane.
14. Local inhabitants. Goods. Cattle.
15. 1681. Bonds taken from Earl of Breadalbane, together with other ferry proprietors, in attempt to check traffic in stolen cattle.

Abergeldie

1. Abergeldie.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 2895.
5. Ballater 6. Balmoral 2.
6. 1482.
7. 1840s. Replaced by a "cradle".
1885. Footbridge erected.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Earls of Huntley.
12. A private ferry.
14. Family and employees of Earls of Huntley in Abergeldie
Castle and estate.

Aberlour or Skirduston. Boat of.

1. Aberlour or Skirduston, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NJ 2643.
5. Craigellachie 2. Grantown 22. Inverness 54.
8. 1748.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Goods.
15. 1814. Erected burgh of barony (Grant of Wester Elchies).

Aboyne or Bontie or Bowntie or Bontie, Boat of.

1. Aboyne or Bontie or Bowntie or Bontie, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 5398.
5. Aberdeen 31. Banchory 13. Braemar 28.
7. 1828. Replaced by bridge built by Earl of Aboyne.
8. 1594.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Seton-Gordon family.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1676. Aboyne erected burgh of barony.
 1827. Fatal accident. Two drowned.
 1829. 4th August. Flood destroyed bridge. Ferry
 reinstated temporarily.
 1831. Suspension bridge built by Earl of Aboyne.
 Cost £7,000.
 1869. Bridge closed. It was in a dangerous condition
 due to the heavy traffic using it.
 1869-1871. Ferry reinstated. Ford used for vehicles
 when appropriate.
 1871. Third bridge completed.
 20th century. Ferry inn still in use.

Aigas

1. Aigas.
2. Highland.
3. River Beaully.
4. NH 4540.
5. Beaully 6.
7. 1839. Replaced by bridge built by Lord Lovat. Footbridge only ?
8. 1852.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Tourists.

Aikenway

1. Aikenway.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NJ 2950.
5. Aberlour 3. Grantown 19.
8. 1734.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.

Aird

1. Aird.
2. Highland.
3. Sound of Jura. Kinuachdrach (Island of Jura) $3\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NM 7600.
5. Lochgilphead 15. Oban 32.
8. 1749.
9. Number of boats unknown.
10. Large open sailing boats propelled by oars.
14. Local inhabitants. Drovers. Cattle. Goods.
15. 1749. Inhabitants of parish of Craignish directed to work at the quay at Aird (Statute labour).
1750. Part of the inhabitants of Craignish to work on the fank and quay of Aird (Statute labour).
1754. Inhabitants of Aird, Rhonadale and Dippin in Glen Carradale to work in making a quay at Aird. Under inspection of Dugald Campbell, late of Lochranza (Statute labour).
1767. Petition by James Campbell of Craignish and Duncan Campbell of Glendaruel to promote the ferry between Lagg (on Jura) and Keill (in Morvern) as the main ferry for transporting cattle brought from Colonsay, Islay and Jura. As a result the Aird to Kinuachdrach ferry would fall into disuse. This petition was agreed with the resultant decline of the Aird to Kinuachdrach ferry.

Alcaig

1. Alcaig.
2. Highland.
3. Cromarty Firth. Dingwall $1\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NH 5657.
5. Canon Bridge 3.
8. 1840.
10. Sailing boat.
12. Dates unknown. John William Mackenzie, known as "Jumbo the Ferry". Family "long plied the sailing boat" from Dingwall to Alcaig.
15. 1760. Bishop Pococke "forded the river near this point".
 John William Mackenzie buried in Old Churchyard,
 Dingwall.

Alford, Boat of

1. Alford, Boat of, or Forbes, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Don.
4. NJ 5617.
5. Aberdeen 26. Braemar 43. Huntley 22.
7. 1811. Replaced by bridge.
8. 1435.
11. Sir Robert Erskine.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Cattle.
15. 1594/5. Alford licensed as a burgh of barony.
1644. Duke of Montrose crossed this ferry with
his troops.

Allanaquoich Boat

1. Allanaquoich Boat.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile above MacDougall's Boat.
4. NO 1191.
5. Braemar 1. Inverey $2\frac{1}{2}$.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. Earls of Mar.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. Ford adjacent to ferry.

Allanbank

1. Allanbank.
2. Borders.
3. River Whitadder.
4. NT 8456.
5. Edrom 1. Chirnside 1. Duns 5.
8. 1721.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat (large).
12. Thomas of Chirnside.
14. Foot passengers. Horses. Goods.
15. 1734. Thomas, ferryman, petitioned Edrom Parish Church
Session because ferry boat was "staved to pieces".

Alloa

1. Alloa.
2. Central.
3. River Forth. South Alloa.
4. NS 8892.
5. Dunfermline 14. Stirling 8.
7. 1939. Ferry ceased. Undermined by building of Kincardine bridge in 1936.
8. 1363.
9. Pre-1819. Several, exact number unknown.
 1819-1823. One.
 1823-1861. Two.
 1861-19 9. One.
10. 1791. Pinnaces, yawls, rowing boats.
 1819-1939. Steam driven boat(s).
11. 17th century. Earl of Erskine.
 1819. Earl of Mansfield.
12. Ferry tacksmen:
 1652. James Drummond.
 1653. William Murray.
 1656. Thomas Dawling.
 1826. Alexander Henderson. Annual rent £500 sterling.
14. Local inhabitants. Workers. Traders. Animals. Carts.
 Carriages. Goods.
15. 1497. Existing burgh of regality.
 1822. Cost of buying steam boat (constructed to transport
 60 head of cattle together with drive on-off system
 for horse drawn vehicles) and raising height of
 piers, £3,000.
 1845. Comment acknowledging good management of ferry.
 Steam boats pass "in about 5 minutes at all times
 of tide and states of weather".

Alltdourie Cottage Boat

1. Alltdourie Cottage Boat.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee. 1 mile above Invercauld House Boat.
4. NO 1692.
5. Crathie 7. Braemar 1.
8. 19th century.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. Proprietors of Invercauld estate.
14. Local inhabitants.

Alness

1. Alness.
2. Highland.
3. River Alness.
4. NH 6569.
5. Dingwall 10. Invergordon 4.
7. 1880. Disused.
8. 16th century.
15. 1690. Alness erected burgh of barony.
1726. Earl of Sutherland's troops used ferry.

Alyth

1. Alyth.
2. Tayside.
3. Burn of Alyth.
4. NO 2448.
5. Blairgowrie 5. Meigle 3.
7. 1883. Replaced by stone bridge costing £900.
8. 1748.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 1748. Sir James Kinloch.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Ancrum

1. Ancrum.
2. Borders.
3. River Ale.
4. NT 6324.
5. Jedburgh 3. Kelso 11. Hawick 15.
6. Prior to 1745.
7. 1791. Replaced by bridge.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Sir William Scott of Ancrum House.
14. Local inhabitants.

Annan

1. Annan.
2. Dumfries and Galloway.
3. River Annan.
4. NY 1966.
5. Gretna Green 8. Carlisle 18. Dumfries 15. Kilmarnock 74.
7. Early 1700s. Replaced by bridge. Bridge rebuilt 1824,
cost £8,000.
8. 1600.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat (medium). "Double kind of boat, like two
troughs joined together, each of which would hold any
beast to be ferried over".
11. Magistrates of Annan.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 13th century, a Bruce burgh. 1538/9. Re-erected royal burgh.
1618. Eight burgesses stopped passage of ferry boat.

Burgesses disciplined by Commissioners of
Convention of Burghs.

When fairs in progress 'ford women' transported
people on shoulders across water.

1747. Bishop Pococke used this ferry.

Annan (Seafield)

1. Annan (Seafield)
 2. Borders.
 3. Solway Firth. Bowness-on-Solway $1\frac{1}{2}$.
 4. NY 2064.
 5. Bowness 3. Edinburgh 90. Glasgow 93.
 8. 1795.
 9. Two.
 10. Large.
 11. Annan Town Council.
 15. 13th century, a Bruce burgh. 1538/9. Re-erected royal burgh.
Water passage also most westerly ford on the Solway Firth.
- 1124-1609. Annan Castle key point in Scottish defenses.

Ardchattan

1. Ardchattan.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Etive.
4. NM 9735.
5. Benderloch 6. Connel 3.
8. 1681.
9. 1681. One.
1820s. Two.
10. Rowing boat(s).
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Members of Ardchattan
Kirk on the south side of the loch.
15. 1681. Privy Council issued decree ordaining that this
ferry passage, together with those at Aberfeldy,
Lyon, Kenmore on the river Tay, Bonawe and Connel
on Loch Etive and Ballachulish between Loch Linnhe
and Loch Leven, be "putt under securitie and good
cautione" for military reasons.
1820. Road Trustees (Lorn District) paid £10 towards
upkeep of ferry boats.

Ardearg Boat of

1. Ardearg Boat.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 1089.
5. Braemar 3. Inverey 1.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Coble
11. Earls of Mar.
14. Local inhabitants.

Ardentinny

1. Ardentinnny.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Long. Coulport.
4. NS 1887.
5. Blairmore or Portinstuck 5. Strachur 15.
8. 1782.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Sailing boat(s) with oars.
12. 1782. Difficulty in getting ferryman to attend ferry.
13. Fares charged:

1782.	1 single passenger	6d.
	1 Man, 1 horse	8d.
	1 Horse and Cart	4d.
	1 Score of sheep	1/-
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles.
Goods.
15. Prior to 1782. Another ferry location at Portindornoch
approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Ardentinnny.
1782. Military road built to give better access
to Ardentinnny.
Portindornoch ceased as a ferry location.

Ardentrive

1. Ardentrive.
2. Island of Kerrera.
3. Sound of Kerrera. Dunollie.
4. NM 8431.
5. Port Kerrera 2.
8. 1790s.
9. One.
10. Prior to 1824. Small rowing boat.

After 1824, "a good sufficient boat of not less than 22 foot keel".

11. MacDougall of Dunollie.
12. After 1824. 4 ferrymen employed.
14. Local inhabitants. Drovers. Cattle.

15. 1818. Complaint registered by tenant of Ardentrive farm that the "droves" perpetrate damage to his land and crops.

1823. Statement regarding dubious practice of swimming cattle from Ardentrive to Dunollie and a plea for a boat to ferry the cattle.

1824. Mull cattle owners agreed to relinquish right to "float" cattle from Ardentrive provided a boat was available to ferry them.

1824. Statement by Lord Breadalbane after considering the discontinuation of floating cattle from Ardentrive:

"Steam boats could be employed (in the future) for some days before each south country cattle market, to tow across the cattle boats direct from Mull to the mainland, thereby avoiding the necessity of cattle passing through the island of Kerrera...".

Ardeonaig

1. Ardeonaig.
2. Tayside.
3. Loch Tay. Carie.
4. NN 6635
5. Kenmore 9. Killin 6.
8. 1890s.
14. Local inhabitants.

Ardgowan

1. Ardgowan.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Bullwood 3½.
4. NS 2073.
5. Greenock 6. Wemyss Bay 3.
6. 1810.
11. Stewarts of Greenock and Blackhall.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1810. Authorisation by Commissioners of Supply to
charge different fares from those charged at
Corran ferry.

Ardminish

1. Ardminish.
2. Island of Gigha.
3. Sound of Gigha. Tayinloan $4\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NR 6548.
5. Tarbert (on island of Gigha) $2\frac{1}{2}$.
8. 1760.
11. MacNeil of Tainish.
13. 1770. Charges made:

1 passenger	2/-
2 or more passengers	1/- each
5 passengers	5/- between them "and no more"
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1760. Statute labour from inhabitants of Gigha on building the ferry quay.

1763. Malcolm McNeil, surveyor, granted 11/5d. "in his hand" to finish the quay.

1766. "It is surmised that no work has been done on the roads or quays ... for some time past". Committee appointed to enquire into the matter.

1767. Agreement by Argyllshire Commissioners of Supply to "lay out money on the quays at the ferry".

Ardmore

1. Ardmore.
2. Island of Kerrera.
3. Firth of Lorn. Lorn $\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NM 7926.
5. Port Kerrera (on island of Kerrera) 2.
7. 1760s. Superseded by the ferry at Barr nam Boc.
8. 1622.
11. MacDougall of Dunollie.
12. 1663. Allan MacDougall, "All and Haill the two merk land of Ardmoir with the priviledge of the ferry of the same".
14. Local inhabitants. Drovers. Cattle. Goods.
15. 1749. Quay being built to accommodate ferry at Barr nam Boc.

Until 1760. Ferry functioned at Ardmore for 3 months then functioned at Slattrach (2 miles distant) for 3 months. This system was condemned as unreliable and inconvenient.

1760s. Traffic at this ferry location ceased.

Ardnacross

1. Ardnacross.
2. Island of Mull.
3. Sound of Mull. Killundine (Morvern) 2. Rhemore (Morvern) 2.
4. NM 5549.
5. Tobermory 5. Salen 4.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Animals.
Goods.

Ardnaugh

1. Ardnaugh.
2. Island of Mull.
3. Sound of Mull. Bonnavoulin 2.
4. NM 5253 (approximately).
5. Tobermory 3. Salen 7.
8. 1834.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Cattle.
Other animals. Goods.

Ardneachdie

1. Ardneachdie.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Erriboll. Port Chamil 2.
4. NC 4560.
5. Tongue 11.
8. 1852.
9. One.
10. "A good boat".
14. Pedestrian tourists.

Ardpatrick

1. Ardpatrick.
2. Strathclyde.
3. West Loch Tarbert.
4. NR 7558.
5. Lochgilphead 33. Tarbert 11.
8. 1749.
9. One.
10. Large open rowing boat.
11. 1804. Campbell of Shawfield.
13. 1775. Ferry fares:

1 single passenger	2d.
More than one passenger	1d. each
1 horse or mare	6d.
Black cattle, per head	4d.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. (St. Patrick said to have landed at this point on his way from Ireland to Iona). Animals, particularly cattle. Goods.
15. 1749. James McAlastair, factor, to employ estate tenants to repair quays on both sides of the Ardpatrick ferry.

1804. Petition by Campbell of Shawfield to raise fares. This was not implemented.

Ardrossan

1. Ardrossan.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Ayr 18. (Brodick, Isle of Arran) 14.
Glasgow approx. 36.
4. NS 2242.
5. Ayr 21. Glasgow 30.
8. 19th century.
9. Number of boats unknown.
10. 19th century. Steam boats.
13. 19th century. Boats sailed daily to Brodick, Ayr, Glasgow.
Boat to Arran leaves 10.30 a.m. on arrival
of coaches from Glasgow and Kilmarnock.
Boat from Arran returns at 6.30 p.m. in
time for same coaches.
14. Holiday makers. Animals, Vehicles, Freight.
15. 1845. 7,000 passengers per month.
1846. Erected burgh of barony.

Ardyne or Port Lamont

1. Ardyne or Port Lamont.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Striven. Coustonn 3.
4. NS 0970.
5. Balliemore 8. Dunoon 15. Inverchaolain 1.
8. 1642.
9. One.
10. Open sailing boat.
11. 18th century. Lamonts of Lamont.
Campbells of Ardyne.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1744. Inhabitants of Inverchaolain to work 2 days
statute labour on the "harbour of the Ferry
of Ardyne".
1766. Inhabitants of Inverchaolain to work statute
labour at the "quay of Ardyne".
1796. Petition by Lamont of Lamont requesting statute
labour on quay at Ardyne. Petition granted.
1811. Permission given by the Argyllshire Commissioners
of Supply to Archibald Campbell of Ardyne to "remove
the ferry of Ardyne to the east side of the river
(loch) as proposed".

Arinagour

1. Arinagour.
2. Island of Coll.
3. Atlantic Ocean. Tobermory (Island of Mull) 25.
Scarinish (Island of Tiree) 18.
4. NM 2256.
5. Sorisdale (on island of Coll) 7.
8. 1773.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. 18th century. Some boats open from end to end, others
decked or half-decked with open hatchway for loading.
Larger boats held up to 50 cattle. Stones, which
acted as ballast, covered with birch branches, heather
or bracken to lessen strain on boat timbers and prevent
cattle dung blocking boat pumps.

Later 19th century. Steam boats called.
11. McLeans of Coll.
13. 1791. Fare charged for a boat and hands, 12/- to 15/-.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders.

Black Cattle. Other animals. Coal. Mail.
15. 1773. Dr. Johnson used this ferry.

1791. Stated ferry operating between Arinagour and Scarinish.

Stated ferry operating between Arinagour and Tobermory.

1840s. Communication irregular and uncertain between Coll

and Tiree and Coll and Mull.

Arisaig

1. Arisaig.
2. Highland (Ardnamurchan).
3. Sound of Sleat. Armadale (Skye) 14, Castlebay (Barra) 100.
4. NM 6586.
5. Fort William 38. Mallaig 8.
7. 1850s. Superseded by steam boats from Mallaig to Skye.
8. 1745.
9. Number unknown.
10. Sailing boat(s) propelled by oars and sail.
 1811. Description of boat: "No floor, no rudder, no seat aft, oars patched and spliced and nailed, no rowlocks, a mast without a stay, bolt or haulyards..."
11. Prior to 1812. Macdonald of Clanranald.
 - 1812-1830s. Lady Ashburton.
 - 1830s. Lord Cranstoun.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders.
 - Cattle. Kelp.
15. 1795. George Brown, engineer from Elgin, recommended road from Fort William to ferry of Arisaig.
 1803. £1,500 spent on this road.
 - Post office and inn established.
 1810. Road still incomplete and surface showed effect of increasing traffic.
 1811. At this ferry MacCulloch found ferrymen unwilling to render the service or to provide information regarding the times of ferrying. "The ferry boat was 2 miles from Arisaig somewhere along the rocks and there was no road to it and no pier".
 - 1812 /

15 (contd.)

1812. Road completed to Arisaig.

1850. Still no piers built. Inn in "bad condition".
Cattle traffic taken by Kylerhea (Skye) to
Glenelg ferry.

Armadale

1. Armadale.
2. Highland. Island of Skye.
3. Sound of Sleat. Arisaig (Morar).
4. NG 6303.
5. Broadford 15.
7. 1850s. Superceded by steam boats from Kyle of Loch Alsh
to Mallaig.
8. 1745.
9. Number unknown.
10. Sailing boat(s) propelled by sail and oars.
11. Lord Macdonald of Sleat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders.
Cattle. Kelp. Goods.
15. 1800s. Small inn established.
1815. Armadale Castle, designed by Gillespie Graham,
built by Lord Macdonald of Sleat.

Aros

1. Aros.
2. Highlands. Island of Mull
3. Sound of Mull. Oban 9.
4. NM 5544.
5. Craignure 12. Tobermory 9.
8. 1784.
9. Number unknown.
10. 1784. Open small boat with "neither decks nor rigging".
1801. Boat with sails and 4 oars.
13. No charge made for return journey to Oban. Ferryman
paid with 2 bottles whisky.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Ashfield

1. Ashfield.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Sween. Tayvallich $1\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NR 7686.
5. Lochgilphead 12.
8. 1781.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1781. Cost of repairing landing quay, 15/-.

Askaig, Port of

1. Askaig, Port of.
2. Island of Islay.
3. Sound of Islay. Feolin (Island of Jura) 1.
4. NR 4369.
5. Bridgend 8. Port Ellen 20.
7. 1830s. Gradually superceded by the employment of steam boats sailing from Clyde estuary ports.
8. 1769.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Large rowing boat(s) with sails.
11. 18th century. Campbell of Shawfield.
12. 1790s. James Hill.
13. 1780. Fare charged for cattle and horses:
5 marks per score.
1791. Cost of sending mail once per week, £70. (£40 from "the country", £30 from the government).
- Prior to 1818. Unlimited allowance of whisky to ferrymen as additional payment.
1818. Regulation restricting amount of whisky given to ferrymen to one mutchkin (an English pint) of whisky to every 30 cattle ferried.
14. Local inhabitants. Drovers. Travellers. Black Cattle. Other animals. Goods. Bere and meal. Mail.
15. 1769. Quay to be repaired using statute labour.
1772. Estimated 1,700 black cattle transported.
1780. Campbell of Shawfield authorised to prevent proprietor of Feolin ferry to raise ferry fares without consultation.
- 1787 /

15 contd.

1787. Drovers complained of lack of fanks in which to enclose beasts waiting for ferry.

1787. Fank established to cover 60 to 80 acres.

1790s. James Hill directed to keep surface of ferry slipway in good order to prevent damage to cattle.

1801-1807. Average number of black cattle ferried annually, 2,640.

Auchenlochan

1. Auchenlochan.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Kyle of Bute. Kilmichael (Island of Bute) $1\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NR 9772.
5. Blair's Ferry 3. Strachur 28.
8. 1698.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Rowing boat(s) with sails.
11. 1698. John Lamont who paid 15 merks for the ferry.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. Late 17th century. The Lamonts wished to control points of ferry in this area to safeguard their possessions.

Auchinbody

1. Auchinbody.
2. Grampian.
3. River Deveron.
4. NJ 6858.
5. Banff 6. Turriff 7.
8. 1658.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. In 1658. Alexander Urquhart.
14. Local inhabitants.

Achnacraig

1. Achnacraig (Mull). (Point of embarkation known as Grasspoint).
2. Strathclyde. Island of Mull.
3. Firth of Lorn. Barr nam Buck (Island of Kerrera) approx. 7.
4. NM 7233.
5. Fishnish 7. Strathcoil 5.
8. 1749.
9. Prior to 1794. Two.
1794-1800. Three.
19th century. Four.
10. 18th century. Two large sailing boats, with oars, for transporting cattle.
19th century. In addition, one "Post sailing boat and one row boat for passengers".
12. 4 men "in constant attention", 4 others to be available if required.
1830s. These 8 men are provided with accommodation and a piece of land.
13. 1766. Petition proposing money be paid to ferrymen in lieu of the customary corn.
From 1756. Charge for black cattle:
1 beast cost 8d. (tied down in boat) "from 1st January to 1st July" when "poor";
1 beast cost 10d. (tied down in boat) "from July to January" when "fatt".
Ferryman also received "a bottle of whisky to every loading" and "an additional expense of about 1d. each".
1767. New charges: 1 cow, standing, 1/- and whisky to ferrymen as formerly.
1834. Regulations that passengers ferried from sunrise to sunset: droves of cattle ferried every hour, weather permitting.
14. Local inhabitants. Drovers. Traders. Animals (mainly black cattle, approximately 1,200 per annum transported at this ferry in 1767). Goods.
15. /

15. 1754. "A skilful person" employed to estimate the cost of building a quay.
1759. 8 ferrymen abducted by an officer and a party of soldiers. 6 ferrymen eventually freed but 2 taken to Leith. As a result ferrymen were afraid to attend the ferry. The trade in black cattle was affected.
- A petition requested action be taken to prevent such happenings.
- Ferrymen were officially assured of the protection of the Admiralty.
1767. Request for a "proper quay as it is very dangerous for cattle".
1767. Two requests made to the Argyllshire Commissioners of Supply to improve the position of the ferrymen:
- i. To restrict the ferrying of passengers to the mainland in the evening. Passengers ferried to the mainland at that time left the ferrymen "benighted and detained till they would eat and drink the ferry money and so had nothing for their time and trouble".
 - ii. To control the number of cattle waiting at the ferry especially when bad weather prevented the ferry sailing and many cattle "must be grassed without the fanks of Auchnacraig".
1816. Request for government aid to build quays ("in its present state it is absolutely impracticable to ship cattle").
- Allocation made of £800 sterling for new quay.
1834. Allowance of 3/6d. per night made to watchmen attending cattle droves at the fanks beside the ferry.
- Cattle waiting at the ferry kept in the fank and supplied with grass free of charge.

Badd

1. Badd.
2. Central.
3. River Forth.
4. NS 7694.
5. Bridge of Allan 3. Stirling 1.
8. 1724.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.

Bailemeonach

1. Bailemeonach.
2. Island of Mull.
3. Sound of Mull. Keil (in Morvern) 2½.
4. NM 6541.
5. Auchnacraig 8. Salen 6.
8. 1790s.
9. Two.
10. Large rowing boat with sail for cattle. Smaller rowing boat for passengers.
12. 1834. 4 men in constant attendance at the ferry.
4 men available in the immediate vicinity.
13. 1829. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	1/-
More than 1 passenger	6d. (each)
1 Bull	2/-
1 Cow, stot, heifer above 1 year old	6d. (each)
1 Man, 1 Horse	1/6d.
2 Horses	1/- (each)
1 Score sheep, weddars	2/6d.
1 Score lambs	1/6d.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Black cattle.
Horses. Sheep. Goods. Mail.
15. 1800s. Mail transported once per week.
1829. /

15. contd.

1829. Boundaries of ferry determined by Mull District Road Trustees to be: "from the march of Craignurie to the point of Callachilly", that is Fishnish. Bailemeonach was replaced by Fishnish which became the only ferry location in that area. Subsequently, the ferry plied between Fishnish and Lochaline.

Balblair or Inverbreakie

1. Balblair or Inverbreakie
2. Highland.
3. Firth of Cromarty. Invergordon $\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NH 7067.
5. Conon Bridge 14. Fortrose 12.
8. 1570.
11. 1685. George Dallace of St. Martins.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods. Animals.
Mail.
15. 1667. John Ribotson, writer in Edinburgh purchased "town and lands of Inverbreakie, the ferritoun and ferriboat thereof...".
1677. Easter Balblair and Auchmartin erected burgh of barony.
1685. Act disjoining the barony of Tarbet, including the ferry at Balblair, from the sheriffdom of Ross and annexing it to the sheriffdom of Cromarty.
1686. 1685 Act rescinded. Barony of Tarbet, including ferry at Balblair, reinstated in the sheriffdom of Ross.
1770s. £50 allocated to making quay suitable for wheeled traffic.
1819. New quays constructed.

Ballachulish (South)

1. Ballachulish (South).
2. Highland.
3. Meeting of Loch Linnhe and Loch Leven. Ballachulish (North).
4. NN 0559.
5. Crianlarich 39. Fort William 13.
7. Replaced by a bridge.
8. 1681.
9. Two.
10. Large rowing boats. Boats too small to convey horses and passengers at once. Two journeys required to transport men, horses and carriage.
11. 1780s. James Stewart of Ballachulish.
13. 1832. Review of fares until 1832 and statement of fares to be exacted after 1832.

	<u>Before 1832</u>	<u>After 1832</u>
1 single foot passenger	2d.	2d.
1 Horse and rider	6d.	6d.
1 Four wheeled vehicle	2/-	3/6d.
Gig or Carriage, 1 horse	1/6d.	1/6d.
Cart and horse	1/6d.	1/-
1 Bull	6d.	1/-
Black cattle, per head	6d.	4d.
Score of sheep	10d.	10d.
Score of lambs	8d.	8d.

Footnote: Only half fare to be charged on all carriages and carts of every description should they return within 12 hours.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders. Animals, particularly black cattle. Vehicles. Goods. Mail.
15. /

15. 1681. Privy Council ordered ferryboats to be "putt under securitie and good caution" to prevent the passage of stolen goods, particularly cattle. Penalty: a fine of 500 merks.

1692. Used by troops.

1781. Receipted bill by Peter Tarnish, a Fort William wright, for erection of a pier and changehouse at Ballachulish, included in accounts of Henry Butler, factor to Duke of Argyll.

James Morison, surveyor, reported only the walls of the house were built, a few stones set on the beach for the quay and no workmen were in sight.

1782. James Stewart, ferry proprietor, stated the inn on the south side completed at a cost of £250. He requested £30 to complete the quay.

1789. Fatal accident. 2 men drowned.

1792. Concern expressed by Lettice (traveller) regarding safety of boat which "tilted so much when the carriage put into it that all who entered could not restore it to anything like a balance".

1811. Thomas Garnett complained about the inadequacy of the inn at the south side of the ferry.

1820, 1840. Statements recording improvements at the inns on both sides of the ferry and regarding the management of the ferry.

1822. /

15 contd.

1822. James Stewart (proprietor) requested £41 Statute labour money to repair the south pier at the ferry.

Lorn District Road Trustees granted him the money.

1823. Cost of transporting mail daily for one year,

£18. 5/-.

Ballater

1. Ballater.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 3694.
5. Aboyne 11. Braemar 17.
7. 1783. Replaced by bridge, subsequently destroyed by floods.
1809. Second bridge erected.
1829. Bridge destroyed.
1829-1834. Ferry reinstated.
1834. Third bridge completed. Made of timber.
1855. Fourth bridge built. Constructed of stone.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods. Vehicles.
Animals.

Balloch, Boat of

1. Balloch, Boat of.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Leven.
4. NS 3982.
5. Dumbarton 5. Tarbet 16.
7. 1842. Replaced by suspension bridge.
8. 1652.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat, not large enough to transport cattle which were required to swim the passage.
11. Prior to 1652. Dukes of Lennox.
1652. Purchased by Sir John Colquhoun of Luss.
17th and 18th centuries. The Colquhouns of Luss.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders. Goods.
15. 1702. Balloch ferry included in will of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun. His only daughter Anne, married to James Grant of Pluscardine, inherited.
1796. Application to Commissioners of Supply Committee by County of Dumbarton for aid to build a bridge at this ferry. 48 years later bridge completed.

Balmackneill

1. Balmackneill.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay.
4. NN 9850.
5. Dunkeld 4. Pitlochry 9.
8. 1731.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1731. Complaint concerning the inefficiency of the
ferryman.

Balmaqhie, Boat of

1. Balmaqhie, Boat of.
2. Dumfries and Galloway.
3. River Dee.
4. NX 7359.
5. Castle Douglas 3. Kirkcudbright 7.
7. 1868. Replaced by bridge.
8. 1791.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Balnaferry

1. Balnaferry.
2. Grampian.
3. River Findhorn.
4. NJ 0257.
5. Regulas 7. Forres 2.
8. 1791.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1791. Complaint regarding mismanagement of ferry resulting
in loss of life.

Balnellan

1. Balnellan.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey, above confluence with River Avon.
4. NJ 1838.
5. Aberlour 8. Delnapot 1.
8. 1845.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Banavie

1. Banavie.
 2. Highland.
 3. River Lochy.
 4. NN 1177.
 5. Arisaig 30. Fort William 2.
 6. 1775.
 7. 1840s. Replaced by "a handsome suspension bridge".
 11. 1775. Commissioners for Annexed Estates.
 14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
 15. August 1775. Farm and ferry of Banavie leased to the
minister of Kilmallie who was contracted to employ
a ferryman.
- November 1775. Lease reverted to the factor of the estate.
1782. Ferryboat supplied. Cost £5. 10s. 0d. including 4d.
for "whisky at the launching".
1810. Petition to charge higher ferry fares. Permission
granted by Commissioners of Supply Committee (new
rates not recorded).

Banchory (Devenick)

1. Banchory (Devenick).
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NJ 9102.
5. Aberdeen 3. Bridge of Dee 1.
7. 1837. Replaced by suspension bridge at Cults, called
the "Shakin' Brig".
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
13. Free passage on a Sunday.
14. Local inhabitants. Members of parish church.

Banchory(Ternan)

1. Banchory(Ternan.)
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 6995.
5. Aberdeen 18. Braemar 40. Stonehaven 16.
7. 1798. Replaced by an iron-truss bridge.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders.
15. Until 1850s six annual fairs held in Banchory.
 St. Teran's fair, June, attended by 500 to 600
 vendors.
 1829. 4th August. Flood damaged bridge.

Banff

1. Banff.
2. Grampian.
3. River Deveron.
4. NJ 6963.
5. Aberdeen 47. Cullen 14. Huntley 21. Macduff 1.
7. 1765. Replaced by bridge costing £5,000 to £6,000.
 1768. Bridge destroyed by flood.
 1768-1779. Ferry reinstated.
 1779. Replaced by bridge costing £8,000 - £10,000.
8. 1622.
9. One until 1768 when one small boat for foot passengers and
 one large boat for carriages employed.
10. 1622. Small rowing boat.
 1632. "Big new boit".
 1676. A new boat purchased.
 1734. New ferry boat. "Cost £15 7s. 8d. stg., including
 £5. 11s. 2d. stg. for oars etc. and 7/6d. stg. for
 bringing boat to Banff".
 1741. New boat as ferry boat "old and rotten".
 1773. New boat as ferry boat "too small".
11. Banff Town Council.
12. 1622-1629. Wm. Ogilvy, Wm. Shand.
 1631. James Maltman.
 1735. George Reid, schoolmaster.
 1739. Alexander Steinson.
 1768. Peter and William Allasteers.
13. /

13. 1768. Ferry regulations.

Foot passenger	½d. Stg.
Horse and rider	2d. "
Single horse cart	2d. " - if empty.
"	4d. " - if loaded.
Double horse cart and driver	4d. " - if empty.
"	8d. " - if loaded.
2 wheeled chaise with passengers and driver	6d. "
Coach, passengers, driver.	1/6d. "
Waggon	1/-d. "

1775-1779. Two boatmen paid licence to ferry of 10/- Stg.
per week.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods. Vehicles.

Undesirable residents, e.g.

1643. Beatrix Henderson transported over the "water of Deveron".

1683. Beatrix Anderson to be "banisht from the town for ever".

1700. Thomas McKurachan and Margaret Smith, thieves, to be
banished "under paine of death, the man to be hanged,
the woman to be drowned".

15. 1198. Banff first mentioned as burgh.

1739. Fatal accident. Six people drowned.

Barpuntaig

1. Barpuntaig.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Fyne.
4. Unlocated on OS map.
8. 1770.
9. At least one boat.
10. Rowing boat with sail large enough to transport a horse.
13. 1770. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	1/6d.
1 man, 1 horse	2/-
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Horses. Goods.

Barr nam Boc

1. Barr nam Boc.
2. Island of Kerrera.
3. Firth of Lorn. Auchnacraig (Island of Mull) 7.
4. NM 7928.
5. Port Kerrera (Island of Kerrera) 3.
6. 1749.
7. 1850. Use of ferry gradually ceased due to employment of steam boats sailing directly between Mull and Oban.
9. Prior to 1794. Two.
1794 to 1800. Three.
19th century. Four.
10. 18th century. Two large, open sailing boats with oars, for transporting cattle.
19th century. In addition, one "Post sailing boat and one row boat for passengers".
11. MacDougall of Dunollie.
12. 1794. 4 Ferryman "in constant attendance".
4 others to be available if required.
1830s. Ferryman, Colin MacCowan and Allan MacDougall.
13. 1766. Petition proposing money to be paid to ferryman in place of customary donations of corn.
1833. Allowance to ferryman for a sail £1.
1834. Allowance to ferryman for transporting mail £3.
1836. Allowance to ferryman for transporting mail £4. 10s. 0d.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Black cattle. Other animals. Goods.
15. /

15. 1749. 3 days statute labour by the "inhabitants of Kerrera" to build a quay.
1750. 3 days statute labour by "inhabitants of Kerrera" to build a quay.
1758. Quay built. Workmen's wages:
- | | |
|---|-------------|
| Hector McLean, blaster and quarrier
for 90 days work at 10d. per day | £3. 15. 0d. |
| Donald Sinclair, smith, for 90
days work at 6d. per day | £2. 5. 0d. |
| Angus McInish, for 30 days work
at 6d. per day | 15/- |
1769. Complaint regarding neglected state of quays and roads in Kerrera. Inhabitants directed (by Commissioners of Supply Committee) to "complete work on the road through Glen Sheileach and then spend the rest of their statute labour on the road between the two ferrying places in Kerrera", i.e. Barr nam Buck and Port Kerrera.
1771. Estimate for repairing quays at Barr nam Boc and Port Kerrera £46 sterling.
1819. MacDougall of Dunollie paid £12 statute labour money to repair quays at Barr nam Boc and Port Kerrera.

Barswick or Burwick

1. Barswick or Burwick.
2. Orkney. South Ronaldsay.
3. Pentland Firth. Houna/Huna 9
 John o' Groats 10
 Skarfskerry 13
4. ND 4386.
5. Kirkwall 20.
8. Early 1500s.
9. Eighteenth century. One.
 Nineteenth century. Two.
10. Eighteenth century. Open sailing boat.
 Nineteenth century. One large open sailing boat for carrying
 horses and cattle.
 One smaller sailing boat for passengers.
13. 1791. Fares charged:

1 passenger travelling with mail	1/-
1 single passenger	7/-
Several passengers (between them)	9/-
1 Colt	1/-
1 fully grown horse	1/8d.
A number of cattle (negotiable)	21/-
1801. Charges made:

1 horse	1/4d.
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1815. Charges made:

1 horse	3/6d.
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14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Animals. Goods.
 Mail.

Bearscrofts

1. Bearscrofts.
2. Central.
3. River Avon.
4. Unlocated on OS map.
8. 1748.
14. Local inhabitants.

Beaully

1. Beaully.
2. Highland.
3. River Beaully.
4. NH 5345.
5. Dingwall 9. Invermoriston 27. Inverness 13.
7. 1813. Replaced by bridge designed by Telford, costing
£8,800.
8. 1646.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Troops.
15. 1646. John, Earl of Middleton, conveyed over "the ferry
of Beaully".
1704. Beaully erected burgh of regality.
1809. 23rd June. Ferry boat sank. No lives lost.

Bighouse

1. Bighouse.
2. Highland.
3. River Halladale. Melvich.
4. NC 8964.
5. Tongue 25. Thurso 15.
8. 1850.
9. One.
10. A large, flat boat, moved from one side of river to the other by a windlass and chain, attached under boat and connected to banks.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Carriages. Carts. Goods.
15. Ferry boat could carry 7 or 8 tons weight, was capable of transporting 200 passengers, could convey a carriage and horses, without horses being unhitched.

Birse, Waterside of

1. Birse, Waterside of
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 5597.
5. Aboyne 2. Banchory 10.
7. 1828. Replaced by bridge at Aboyne.
8. 1715.
9. One.
10. Coble.
12. 1715. John Ross.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1715. John Ross immortalised in Jacobean song:

"I'll gie John Ross anither bawbee
To ferry me o'er to Charlie".

Until 1814, market held at Birse.

Until 1860, inn established at ferry.

Blacksboat

1. Blacksboat.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NJ 1838.
5. Aberlour 8. Grantown 14.
8. 1620.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 1791. Grant of Ballindalloch Castle.
12. 1791. Ferry rent £17. 8. 10d.
 1827. James Walker. Ferry rent £16. 16. 10d.
13. 1840. A foot passenger 1d.
 One horse 4d.
14. Local inhabitants. Horses. Goods. Whisky from Glenlivet.

Blackwaterfoot.

1. Blackwaterfoot.

2. Island of Arran.

3. Kilbrannan Sound. Campbeltown 12.

4. NR 8928.

5. Brodick (on island of Arran) 14.

8. 1769.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Goods.

Blairmore or Portinstuck, Boat of

1. Blairmore or Portinstuck, Boat of.

2. Strathclyde.

3. Long Long. Cove $3\frac{1}{2}$. Greenock 7.

4. NS 1982.

5. Ardentinnny 5. Benmore 7.

8. Prior to 1709.

9. One.

10. Until 1830s. Sailing boat.

1830s. Steam boat.

11. The Dukes of Argyll.

13. 1709. On Fridays fare charged:

1 single passenger 2d.

Every other week day:

1 single passenger 4d.

14. Mainly the family and employees of the Dukes of Argyll.

Local inhabitants.

15. 1709. This ferry established for private use of Dukes

of Argyll and their employees. Local inhabitants

used the ferry boat on Fridays to attend Greenock

market.

19th century. Regular daily communication by steam boats

with Greenock and Gourock.

Blair's Ferry

1. Blair's Ferry.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NJ 8800.
5. Aberdeen 5. Peterculter 3.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Blair's Ferry.

1. Blair's Ferry.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Kyle of Bute. Kilmichael 1.
4. NR 9869.
5. Ardlamont Point 5. Kames 2.
8. 1410.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders.
15. 1800. Petition submitted to Cowall District Commissioners
of Supply "anent Fares of Blair's Ferry".

Boat of Bridge, Boat of Brig

1. Boat of Bridge or Boat of Brig.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NJ 3251.
5. Rothes 3. Fochabers 7.
7. 1805. Rendered redundant by the erection of bridge over
river Spey at Fochabers.
8. Late 16th century wooden bridge, established since 1232,
destroyed. Ferry functioned from late 16th century to
1805.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Troops. Mail.

Bog, Boat of or Gight, Boat of or Fochabers.

1. Bog, Boat of or Gight, Boat of or Fochabers.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NJ 3358.
5. Aberdeen 58. Elgin 10. Huntly 19. Inverness 48.
7. 1805. Replaced by bridge designed by Telford.
8. 1645.
9. In 1780, ~~Four~~. Big boat, small boat, south side.
Big boat, small boat, north side.
10. Rowing boats.
11. 18th and 19th centuries, Duke of Gordon.
12. 1652. John Lym of Muresk.
1749. James Burges and Barbara Stewart: rent £112. 18/- Scots.
1750. James Chalmers and Marjory Wilson, his mother, for 19
years. Rent £112. 18/- Scots.
1769. James Chalmers for 19 years, but retired from ill-health.
1770. John Gordon and May Gordon. Rent £51 Sterling.
13. 1780. 19th January. Funeral of Dowager Duchess of Gordon.
Cost of ferry boats:

To coach going and returning	£1. 0. 0d.
To hearse going and returning	10. 0d.
To chiefs going and returning	£2. 5. 0d.
To 24 packs	8. 0d.
To 16 men two days attending	£1.12. 0d.
Total	£5.15. 0d.
14. /

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Mail. Goods. Horses.

Troops.

15. 1598/9. Fochabers erected burgh of barony.

1645. Duke of Montrose crossed on ferry.

1649. Charles II crossed on ferry.

1745-1746. Military activity at ferry.

Boldside, Bieldside, Baldsyde, Boleside.

1. Boldside, Bieldside, Baldsyde, Boleside.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 4933.
5. Melrose 3.
8. 1723.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat ("big").
11. Scott of Galashiels.
14. Foot passengers, Horses. Goods. Travellers to Edinburgh.
15. 1723. Martinmas Fair Day. Fatal accident. 15 drowned,
including members of wedding party.

Bonar

1. Bonar.
2. Highland.
3. Kyle of Sutherland.
4. NH 6191.
5. Dornoch 13. Tain 14.
7. 1812. Replaced by bridge, designed by Telford, which
cost £13,971.

Bonawe

1. Bonawe.
2. Highlands.
3. Loch Etive. Islandurinish 1.
4. NN 0132.
5. Connel 5. Dalmally 12.
8. 1681.
9. Two.
10. Large rowing boat with sail. Small rowing boat.
11. The Campbells of Bonawe.
13. 1832. Review of fares charged:

	<u>Present Fares</u>	<u>Recommended Fares</u>
1 single passenger	3d.	3d.
2 or more passengers	2d.	2d.
1 man, 1 horse	6d.	6d.
All sorts of black cattle	6d.	4d.
1 Bull	1/-	1/-
1 Score of sheep	1/2d.	10d.
1 Score of lambs	1/-	10d.
1 4 wheeled carriage, 2 horses	5/-	5/-
1 Gig or carriage, 1 horse	2/6d.	2/6d.
1 Cart and horse	2/6d	2/-

Footnote: Half fare to be charged on all carriages and carts should they return within 12 hours.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders. Animals (particularly black cattle). Vehicles. Goods. Mail.
15. /

15. 1681. Boats at this ferry "putt under securitie and caution" by Privy Council for military reasons.
1692. McIan of Glencoe stayed at the ferry inn (night of 31st December/1st January 1692) on the way to sign Oath of Allegiance at Inveraray.
1749. Inhabitants of parish of Ardchattan to work (Statute labour) on road between ferry of Bonawe and Inveresrogan.
1753. Lorn or Bonawe Furnace established (iron works).
Greatly increased ferry traffic.
1765. Complaint stating no quay at Islandurinish (on north side) made it impracticable to boat or land horses with safety. Recommendation by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Campbell: that £10 allocated by Commissioners of Supply Committee together with £10 from "the heritors and other Gentlemen" would meet the cost of building an adequate quay.
1803. Dorothy and William Wordsworth stayed at ferry inn. The fare and service was good.
- 1800-1833. Mail carried regularly by ferry boats. Cost, 3d. per crossing.
1823. Daily crossing of mail.
1833. Mail cost £15 per annum for a daily crossing.

Bo'ness or Borrowstouness

1. Bo'ness or Borrowstouness.
2. Lothian.
3. Firth of Forth. Charleston 1 mile at high tide,
 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile at low tide.
4. NS 9981.
5. Falkirk 7. Linlithgow 4.
8. 17th century.
9. 1845. Two.
10. 1845. Steam boats.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles. Goods.
 1838-1843. Over 20,000 passengers used this ferry.
15. 1668. Bo'ness erected burgh of regality.
 1827. New piers built by grant of £6,468. 5. 9d. from Lord
 Keith's Trustees.
 1852. Railway between Charleston and Dunfermline converted
 to steam. Number of passengers on ferry increased.

Bonhill

1. Bonhill.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Leven.
4. NS 3979.
5. Dumbarton 3. Glasgow 19.
7. 1836. Replaced by an iron suspension bridge.
8. 1724.
15. River current very strong. Frequently ferry boat swept downstream. Horses required to tow ferry boat back to ferry location.

Bonnavoulin

1. Bonnavoulin.
2. Highlands (Morvern).
3. Sound of Mull. Ardnaugh (Island of Mull) 2.
4. NM 5653.
5. Rhemore $2\frac{1}{2}$.
8. 1834.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Cattle. Other animals. Goods.

Bowden

1. Bowden.
2. Borders.
3. Bowden burn.
4. NT 5530.
5. Melrose 3. Newtown St. Boswells 1.
8. 1899.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Mainly members of Bowden parish church.

Braemar, Castleton of

1. Braemar, Castleton of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee at confluence of the Clunie Water.
4. NO 1491.
5. Ballater 17. Perth 51.
8. 1564.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 1564. Earl of Mar.
14. Local inhabitants. Goods. Troops. Members of Braemar parish church.
15. 1735. A "commodious inn" at ferry.

Brandy Ferry

1. Brandy Ferry.
2. Highland.
3. River Awe.
4. NN 0230.
5. Inlet on north side of river Awe $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Islandurinish.
8. 1750.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1750. Ferry shown on William Roy's map.

Bridge-end

1. Bridge-end.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 5235.
5. Galashiels 1.
7. 1750. Replaced by bridge built at Darnick.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Bridge of Earn

1. Bridge of Earn.
2. Tayside.
3. River Earn.
4. NO 1318.
5. Edinburgh 40. Perth 4.
7. 1629. Replaced by completion of bridge over river Earn.
11. 1635-1686. Sir John Moncrieffe of that Ilk.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Merchants. Animals.
15. 1247-1330. River Earn crossed by bridge.
 1329. King Robert Bruce ordered stones to be taken from
quarry at Kincarrathie to renovate bridge over river Earn.
 - 1332, 1402, 1409, 1530, 1573, 1582. Additional references to
maintenance of this bridge.
 1629. Re-building of bridge completed.
 - 1330-1629. Ferry functioned when bridge under repair.

Broomielaw

1. Broomielaw.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde.
4. NS 5864.
5. Glasgow $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. 1768. Replaced by bridge known as Broomielaw Bridge.
1833. Bridge rebuilt, designed by Telford, known as
Glasgow Bridge.

Broughty Ferry

1. Broughty Ferry.
2. Tayside.
3. Firth of Tay. Ferry Port-in-Craig 1.
4. NO 4630.
5. Carnoustie 12. Dundee 1.
8. 1474.
9. Number of boats unknown.
10. Sailing boats, pinnaces, yawls.
11. Right of ferry included with Ferry Port-on-Craig.
13. Fares:

1474:	1 man	1d.
	1 horse	1d.
1791:	1 man	2d.
	1 horse	4d.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Animals.
Freight.
15. 1605 and 1665. Regular ferry service stopped temporarily
to prevent spread of plague.
1772. Opening of bridge at Perth affected ferry traffic.
1793. Ferry traffic dwindled. Ferry mainly used for
transportation of cattle.
1819. Ferry landing place in poor state.
1821. Ferry used only for pedestrian traffic. Vehicular
and bestial trade taken by steam ferry boats at
Dundee.

Budge, Boat of

1. Budge, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NJ 3356.
5. Fochabers 3.
8. 1748.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.

Bullwood

1. Bullwood.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Ardgowan.
4. NS 1674.
5. Dunoon 3. Inellan 4.
8. 1810.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Burnmouth Ferry

1. Burnmouth Ferry.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay.
4. NO 1133.
5. Perth 7. Pitlochry 20. Stanley 1.
8. 1910.
14. Local inhabitants.

Burntisland, or Kinghorn Wester

1. Burntisland or Kinghorn Wester.

2. Fife.

3. Firth of Forth. Granton 5. Leith 6. Newhaven 6.

4. NT 2686.

5. Inverkeithing 6. Kirkcaldy 6.

8. 1284.

9. Prior to 1793. Exact number unknown.

1684. President of Court of Session stated "Burntisland
having as many (boats) as they please".

1793-1824. Four.

1824-1848 onwards. At least two.

10. Prior to 1824. Pinnaces, yawls; majority of boats large, a
few medium-sized.

1824-1848. Steam boats, pinnaces.

1848 onwards. Steam boats capable of transporting railway
carriages.

11. 16th century. Burntisland Town Council.

13. Fares from Burntisland:

1675. Single passenger 8d Scots.

1792. Single passenger 1d.

1 horse 2d.

4 wheeled carriage 1/6d.

Other regulations:

1527. Regulation forbidding ferryman, on pain of death,
to charge passage fare from soldiers.

1529. /

13. contd.

1529. Regulation forbidding ferrymen to transport soldiers.

1591. Edict by James VI forbidding ferrymen to transport any passenger to the Lothians unless magistrates of Burntisland gave permission.

1600. Convention of Royal Burghs deplored behaviour of ferrymen and baillies were appointed to apprehend offending ferrymen and destroy their boats.

1608. Privy Council temporarily stopped the ferry service to prevent the spread of plague.

1672. Ferrymen were required to notify the minister of Burntisland church if the ferry was required on a Sunday.

1840. Complaints concerning high fares, i.e. 2/- in the cabin, 1/6d. steerage.

14. Local inhabitants. Officials. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles.

Freight. Mail. Carriages. Carts.

15. 1541. Burntisland erected a burgh.

1589. Fatal accident. 40 people drowned including Jean Kennedy, Maid of Honour to Mary, Queen of Scots.

1617. James VI used this ferry.

1633. Fatal accident. 35 people drowned. Accident witnessed by Charles I. Members of his household staff were among fatalities.

1648. Sir James Hope of Hopetoun took 5 hours to cross the passage.

1651. Cromwell negotiated a settlement with Town Council.

He built new ferry quays and repaired streets in return for peaceful access to Burntisland.

1792. /

15 contd.

- 1792. Fife Ferry Trustees allocated £600 to build new quays.
 - 1811. Act for improving communication between County of Edinburgh and County of Fife. Money allocated to improve quays.
 - 1817. Steam boats owned by London, Leith, Edinburgh and Glasgow Shipping Company operating between Dysart and Leith called at Burntisland twice daily.
 - 1824. Steam boat established at Burntisland.
 - 1825. 35,000 passengers used this ferry in one year.
 - 1848. Recommendation by Thomas Telford stating that the most appropriate location for a railway ferry link with Granton was Burntisland.
- Quays at Burntisland enlarged to accommodate new steamer/railway service.

Cairndow

1. Cairndow.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Fyne. Inveraray 4.
4. NN 1810.
5. Inveraray 9. Strachur 13.
8. 1792.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat for passengers only.
11. Late 18th century. Sir Alexander Campbell.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1792. Ferry inn "small, snug and neat".
1792. Robert Heron used this ferry.
1804. Dorothy and William Wordsworth used this ferry.
1850s. Steam boats from Inveraray called at this location.

Campbeltown

1. Campbeltown.
2. Strathclyde. Kintyre.
3. Kilbrannan Sound. Blackwaterfoot (Island of Arran) 12.
4. NR 7220.
5. Oban 89. Tarbert 38.
8. 1769.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Goods.
15. 1700. Campbeltown previously a burgh of barony, erected royal burgh.
1769. A petition to the Argyllshire Commissioners of
Supply from the magistrates of Campbeltown for money
to build a quay. This was refused as "the public
funds will not allow aid to be given for some time".

Cambuskenneth

1. Cambuskenneth.
2. Central.
3. River Forth.
4. NS 8193.
5. Alloa 5. Stirling 1 $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. 1934. Replaced by foot bridge.
8. 1200.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat operated by 2 men, each with oar, working on pull-push system to overcome strength of current.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
14th, 15th, 16th centuries, persons connected with
Cambuskenneth Abbey. Fruit.
15. 1529. Fatal accident.
18th and 19th century annual 'Strawberry' fair held at
Cambuskenneth.

Cambus o' May

1. Cambus o' May.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 4297.
5. Aboyne 8. Ballater 3.
7. 1905. Replaced by a footbridge.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. The ferry house was also an inn.

Caolas

1. Caolas.
2. Highland (Morvern).
3. Loch Aline. Achranich to Ardtornish.
4. NM 6844.
5. Lochaline village 3.
8. 1794.
14. Local inhabitants. Drovers. Cattle. Other animals.
Goods.
15. 1794. "Dram house" on each side of ferry.

Caputh

1. Caputh.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay.
4. NO 0940.
5. Dunkeld 5. Perth 10.
7. 1897. Replaced by bridge.
8. 1506.
9. Four.
10. Prior to 1820. "Muckle", "Hafflin", "Middin" boats, coble.

All boats propelled by oars.

1820-1834. Chain operated boat.

1834-1897. Chain operated with the aid of a fly-wheel:

twin hulled boats supporting open-ended platform.

11. Dukes of Atholl.

12. 1506. Donald Bernard.

1635-1747. Alexander Scott and his successors.

1747-1758. Charles Murray.

1758. John Mackenzie.

1820-1834. Alexander Ferguson.

1834. John Ferguson.

Annual ferry rents:

1635. Rent 20s. Scots, with delivery of 12 capons.

1711. Rent £4 Scots, with delivery of 4 salmon.

13. 1787 1 Foot passenger ½d.
- 1 Man and horse 1d.
- 1 Horse and cart 1½d. or 2d.

1789. /

13 contd.

1789.	1 Foot passenger	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
	1 Man and horse	2d.
	1 Horse and cart	3d. or 4d.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Merchants. Animals.

Carts. Carriages.

1834. Ferry capable of transporting 4 loaded carts
at one time without unyoking the horses.

1787-1809. Dispute between John Haggart of Cairnmuir
and Duke of Atholl, representing Commissioners of
Supply Committee, regarding irregularities at ferry.
Centre of dispute concerned doubling fares. In
1809 agreement reached in modification of fares.

Cardross

1. Cardross.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Clyde estuary. Port Glasgow 2.
4. NS 3477.
5. Dumbarton 4. Glasgow 19. Helensburgh 4.
8. 1667.
9. One.
11. 1667. 15th October "ferrie boat, with all dues thereof"
acquired by Archibald, 9th Earl of Argyll.

Cardross

1. Cardross.
2. Central.
3. River Forth.
4. NS 6097.
5. Port of Menteith 3. Kippen 5.
8. 1724.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 1724. Earl of Buchan.
14. Local inhabitants. Family and employees at Castle of
Cardross, residence of Earls of Buchan.
15. A ford lies adjacent to ferry passage.

Carey

1. Carey.
2. Tayside.
3. River Earn.
4. NO 1717.
5. Abernethy 1. Bridge of Earn 3.
8. 1734.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat. For foot passengers only.
14. Local inhabitants.

Cargill

1. Cargill.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay.
4. NO 1537.
5. Cupar Angus 4. Perth 9.
8. 1791.
14. Local inhabitants. Members of Cargill parish church.
15. 1791. Comment regarding condition of ferry stated it was "under excellent regulation, fare paid is moderate, passage safe and commodious."

Carlops

1. Carlops.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River North Esk.
4. NT 1655.
5. Edinburgh 14. West Linton 2.
8. 1833.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. Robert Boutine of Ardoch.
12. John Menzies. Ferry rent £5 half yearly, paid at
Martinmas and Whitsunday.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1833. Menzies also required to pay £5 rent for house.
He offered £2. This offer rejected on the grounds
that he had already built a house "of two stories
with a slate roof and shade attached".

Carlowrie

1. Carlowrie.

2. Lothian.

3. River Almond.

4. NT 1474.

5. Kirkliston 1. Linlithgow 9.

7. 1760. Replaced by Carlowrie bridge.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Merchants. Animals.

Goods.

Carmichael

1. Carmichael.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde. Carmichael Bait to the Howford.
4. NS 9141.
5. Carstairs 4. Lanark 5.
7. 1773. Replaced by bridge. Known as Hyndford Bridge.
11. The Earls of Hyndford from 1350.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1773. Pontage levied at bridge:
 1. Coach, chariot, landau, berlin, chaise,
hearse, calash, chair drawn by 6 or more
horses, mares, geldings, mules or beasts
of draught 1s. 6d.
By 4 horses etc. 1s.
By 2 horses etc. 6d.
By 1 horse 3d.
 2. Wagon, wain, cart or other carriage drawn
by 6 horses 1s. 6d.
By 5 horses 1s. 3d.
By 4 horses 1s.
By 3 horses 6d.
By 2 horses 4d.
By 1 horse 2d.
 3. Every horse, ass laden or unladen and not drawing 1s.
 4. Every drove of oxen, or neat cattle, per score 6d.
 5. Every drove of Calves, Hogs, Sheep or Lambs,
per score 2d.
 6. Every person on foot $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Carpow

1. Carpow.
2. Tayside.
3. River Earn. Easter Rhynd (across River Earn). Newlands
(across Firth of Tay) 1.
4. NO 1919.
5. Abernethy 2. Newburgh 4.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Merchants. Goods.

Cashel Ohu

1. Cashel Ohu.
2. Highland.
3. River Hope.
4. NC 4550.
5. Altnaharra 13. Erriboll 5.
8. 1852.
9. One.
10. "Little flat-bottomed boat or coble".
14. Foot passengers.
15. A small inn at ferry.

Castlebay

1. Castlebay.
2. Island of Barra.
3. Little Minch. Lochmaddy (Island of North Uist) 55.
Dunvegan (Island of Skye) 60.
Arisaig (Ardnamurchan) 100.
Kilchoan (Ardnamurchan) 100.
4. NL 6698.
5. Ersary (on island of Barra) 2.
8. 1720s.
9. Number unknown.
10. 1769. Description of boat(s): "small and insufficient".
1790s. Boats transporting cattle could be between 10 and 50 tons.
1811. Description of boat(s): Large boat; capacity 10-12 men
"easily"; "extremely sharp fore and aft; no floor but
rise with an almost flat, straight side, so that a
tranverse section resembles a wedge. Swift and safe".
Compared with "a Norwegian skiff".
11. MacNeils of Barra.
12. Number of men unknown. Records refer to quality of seaman-
ship; "Barra men being among the few who rival Orkney and
Shetland in dexterity and courage".
13. 1790s. Charge for black cattle: 2/6d. per head.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Black cattle.
Other animals. Kelp. Freight. Mail.
15. 1790s. Boats transported cattle to:
Lochmaddy on the island of North Uist;
Dunvegan on the island of Skye;
Arisaig in Ardnamurchan on the mainland.
Bunessan in the Ross of Mull on the island of Mull.
1811. Boatman built own boats from imported timber.
1840s. Mail transported from Barra to Lochboisdale (on South
Uist) then to Lochmaddy (on North Uist) then to Dunvegan
(on Skye), a distance of 100 miles.
The delivery of mail was irregular.

Chanorrie or Ardisier or Fort George

1. Channorie or Ardisier or Fort George.
2. Highland.
3. Moray Firth. Channorie Port 1. Rosemarkie 1 $\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NH 7656.
5. Inverness 14. Nairn 9.
8. 1497.
9. Unknown number of boats.
10. Open sailing boats, incapable of conveying passengers, horses and chaise in one journey.
12. 1657. Hugh Fraser of Eskidail.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Royalty. Nobility, Churchmen. Animals.
15. 1497, 1501, 1504. James IV used ferry.
 1592. Francis, Earl of Bothwell used ferry.
 1663. Ross of Balnagown paid for six horses to be transported.
 1677. Thomas Kirk used ferry.
 1762. Bishop Forbes used ferry.
 1794. Recorded that this ferry was "so safe ... that there is not an instance of any being lost on it in the memory of man".
 1811. Fatal accident. 11 drowned.
 1823. New quay erected.

Chapell Ferry or Lephinchapel

1. Chapell Ferry or Lephinchapel.

2. Strathclyde.

3. Loch Fyne.

4. NR 9690.

5. Creggans 8. Otter Ferry 6.

8. 1771.

9. One.

10. Large rowing boat.

13. 1771. Fares:

1 single passenger 6d.

2 or more passengers 3d. each

1 Man and 1 horse 9d.

Black cattle, per head 4d.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.

Charleston

1. Charleston.
2. Fife.
3. Firth of Forth. Bo'ness or Borrowstounness 1 mile at high tide, $\frac{1}{4}$ mile at low tide.
4. NT 0683.
5. Dunfermline 6. Inverkeithing 5.
8. 17th century.
9. 1845. Two.
10. 1845. Steam boats.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles.
Goods.
15. 1838-1843. Over 20,000 passengers used this ferry.
1852. Railway between Charleston and Dunfermline converted to steam. Number of passengers on ferry increased.

Clachan

1. Clachan.
2. Island of Raasay.
3. Narrows of Raasay. Sconser (Island of Skye).
4. NG 5535.
5. No other nominated village on island of Raasay.
8. 1773.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1773. Dr. Johnson used this ferry. He commented on
the difficulties of landing without the provision
of a pier.

Cladich

1. Cladich.
2. Highlands.
3. Loch Awe.
4. NN 0923.
5. Dalmally 7. Inveraray 8.
8. 1681.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Animals (particularly black cattle). Goods. Mail.
15. 1681. Privy Council ordered boat(s) to be "putt under securitie and good caution" for military reasons.
1759. New military road built to Cladich village.
1759. Petition to remove ferry at Port Sonachan to Cladich to make that point the only ferry location at that part of Loch Awe.
- Petition refused.
1801. Signal made by lighting a fire to indicate ferry boat must return from opposite side of loch.
- Until 1809. Mail carried at this ferry on 3 days each week, but later another route was followed.
1833. Cladich ferry again transported mail.

Cloch

1. Cloch.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Dunoon $2\frac{3}{4}$. Kirn $1\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NS 2076.
5. Greenock 7. Largs 9.
8. 1685.
9. Number unknown.
10. Open boats.
13. 1790s. The hire of a ferry boat 1/-.
More than 3 passengers 3d. each.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals, mainly cattle.
Goods.
15. 1791. Lighthouse built.
1790s. Ferryhouse used as an inn which sold "the best of
small-still whisky and also foreign spirits".
1790s. Ferryboat drawn up on to the beach as there was no
adequate quay.

Clydesholm

1. Clydesholm.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde.
4. NS 8643.
5. Kirkfieldbank $\frac{1}{2}$. Lanark $\frac{1}{2}$.
6. 1491.
7. 1699. Replaced by bridge. Known as Clydesholm or Lanark bridge.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Baillies and council of Lanark.
12. 1523-1553. John Hastie.
 1553-1698. The Hastie family, father and son and the
 Pomphrey family, father and son.
 1699. James Hastie and Alexander Telfer.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Troops.
15. 1552. Remuneration of ferrymen: "hous, yardis, four soumis
 of gers (a soum equals pasture for one cow or five
 sheep) wyth half the profit of the bait", under payment
 to chaplain (Sir John Cunningham) "yerly of Fyf markis
 and four pennis".
 1699. Lanark Council paid 100 merks compensation to James
 Hastie and Alexander Telfer on completion of bridge.

Cobble Hole

1. Cobble Hole.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 7333.
5. Kelso $\frac{1}{2}$.
8. 1797.
14. Local inhabitants.

Coldstream

1. Coldstream.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 8439.
5. Cornhill 1. Kelso 10. Berwick-on-Tweed 13. Edinburgh 47.
7. 1766. Replaced by bridge designed by Smeaton.

Colintraive

1. Colintraive.
 2. Strathclyde.
 3. Kyle of Bute. Rhubodach $\frac{3}{4}$.
 4. NS 0374.
 5. Coustonn 6. Glendarel 9.
 8. 1550s.
 11. 1550s. John Lamont of Ascog.
 12. 1550s. Archibald Lamont fined ferry for sum of £4.
 14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
 15. 1550s. John Lamont of Ascog put Archibald Lamont, his son, in charge of ferry crossing to safeguard his property.
- 18th century. Inn established at ferry.

Conan

1. Conan.
2. Highland.
3. River Conan.
4. NH 5455.
5. Beaully 6. Dingwall 3.
7. 1809. Replaced by bridge which cost £6,854.
8. 1667.
9. One.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1667. Fatal accident. 22 drowned.

Connel

1. Connel.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Etive.
4. NM 9134.
5. Fort William 43. Oban 5.
8. Prior to 1681.
9. Two.
10. Large rowing boats, inadequate for the transport of horses.
11. The Earls of Argyll.
12. Two ferryman employed. (1803. 5 men assisted).
1828. Donald Cameron, one ferryman.
13. 1832. Fares reviewed.

	<u>Present fares</u>	<u>Recommended fares</u>
1 single passenger	3d.	3d.
1 man, 1 horse	6d.	6d.
4 wheeled carriage, 4 horses	6/-	6/-
Gig and carriage, 1 horse	2/6d.	2/6d.
Cart and horse, loaded	2/6d.	2/-
Heifer and stirk	4d.	4d.
1 Bull	9d.	1/-
Black cattle (each)	6d.	4d.
Sheep per score	1/-	10d.
1 Boll grain	1d.	1d.
1 Full barrel	2d.	1d.

Footnote: Half fare to be charged on carriages and carts should they return within 12 hours.

1832. The boats to be kept on both sides of the ferry.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles. Goods.
15. 1681. Privy Council ordered ferry boats to be "putt under securitie and good caution" for military reasons.
1803. /

15 contd.

- 1803. Complaint concerning difficulties of transporting horses.
- 1803. Dorothy and William Wordsworth used this ferry.
- 1811. Comment by Thomas Garnett (traveller) that "the ferry at Connel, though formidable in appearance, is safe, owing to the skill of the boatmen". No accident occurred in living memory.
- 1822. Allocation of £118. 15/- to pay for the quay constructed at the ferry.
- 1828. Complaint against one of the ferrymen, Cameron. No case was found against Cameron and it was recommended that he continue as a ferryman.

Corehouse

1. Corehouse.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde.
4. NS 8841.
5. Biggar 11. Lanark 2.
8. 1653.
9. One.
11. 1653. 29th October. "... liberty of ferry boat" sold to David Murray, tailor, "citiner of London" by Anne, Duchess of Hamilton. Price £1726. 12/- sterling and included the purchase of lands and fishing etc. round Corehouse.
14. Local inhabitants, particularly family and employees of Corehouse estate.

Corran

1. Corran.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Linnhe. Ardgour.
4. NN 0163.
5. Ballachulish (North) 4. Fort William 9.
8. 1681.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Large rowing boat(s).
13. 1832. Review of fares charged:

	<u>Previous fare</u>	<u>Present fare</u>
1 single passenger	3d.	3d.
1 horse and rider	6d.	6d.
Gig drawn by 1 horse	2/6d.	2/6d.
Cart and horse - loaded	2/6d.	2/-
Black cattle (each)	6d.	4d.
Sheep (per score)	1/-	10d.
1 boll of grain	2d.	1d.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals (particularly black cattle). Vehicles. Goods. Mail.
15. 1681. Privy Council ordered ferry boat(s) to be "putt under securitie and good caution" for military reasons.
1730. Drovers used this ferry for cattle sold at the market at Strontian and those coming from the Western Isles.
1805. Road built between Lochmoidart and Corran ferry.
New piers were built at both sides of the ferry.
1826. Mail transported by ferry 3 times per week. Payment raised from £2. 12/- to £7. 16/- per annum.
1833. Postal service from Corran to Strontian increased to 6 days per week. Ferry charges at Corran Ferry increased to £9. 2/- per annum.

Cortle Ferry

1. Cortle Ferry.
2. Borders.
3. Gala Water.
4. NT 5035.
5. Galashiels 1. Melrose 3.
8. 1812, still functioning.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Thomson of Burnhouse.
14. Passengers from private mansions Crookston, Burnhouse,
Torsonce, Bowland, Torwoodlee, Gala.

Cothall

1. Cothall.
2. Grampian.
3. River Findhorn.
4. NJ 0154.
5. Forres 2.
8. 1831.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
15. 1831. Elgin County Turnpike Trustees directed that ferry
"overseer dismiss his hands until further orders
but to be ready on occasions of a flood happening
to put men on a boat on the shortest notice...".
Ferry proprietor also told to find a tenant for
the ferry and obtain a rent or to work the ferry
boat himself.

Coulport

1. Coulport.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Long Long. Portindornoch. Ardentinnny.
4. NS 2087.
5. Kilcreggan 7. Roseneath 11.
8. 1702.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Sailing boat(s) with oars.
13. Fares charged:

	<u>1702</u>	<u>1782</u>
1 single passenger	3d.	6d.
1 Man, 1 horse	2d.	8d.
1 Horse and cart	3d.	4d.
1 Score sheep	1/-	1/-

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles. Goods.

15. Until 1782. Portindornoch opposite ferry location.

1782. Ardentinnny established as opposite ferry location.

Coupar-Angus

1. Coupar-Angus.
2. Tayside.
3. River Isla.
4. NO 2140.
5. Blairgowrie 4. Perth 16.
8. 1791.
9. One.
10. Coble. For foot passengers only.
11. 1791. The kirk session of Coupar-Grange parish church.
14. Local inhabitants. Members of Coupar-Grange parish church.
15. 1607. Coupar Angus erected burgh of barony.

Coustonn

1. Coustonn.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Striven. Inverchaolain and Ardyne (Port Lamont) 3.
4. NS 0774.
5. Colintrave 6. Strachur 24.
8. 1642.
9. One.
10. Open sailing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1782. Ferryman's house built. Cost, 5 guineas.

House consisted of:-

"16 feet broad, within walls: 27 feet to 30 feet
long, within walls: well thatched with heather".

Craig

1. Craig.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Riddon. Ard a' Chapuill $\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NS 0078.
5. Ardlamont Point 13. Glendaruel 5.
8. 1823.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat with sail.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1626. Craig erected burgh of barony.
1823. Quay repaired. Cost 10/-.

Craigellachie

1. Craigellachie.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NJ 2845.
5. Elgin 13. Boat of Garten 33. Keith 15.
7. 1815. Replaced by bridge designed by Telford costing
£8,000.
8. 1630s.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods. Dealers in
cattle and sheep.

Crailing

1. Crailing.
2. Borders.
3. Oxnam Water.
4. NT 6824.
5. Jedburgh 4. Kelso 7.
8. 1770.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 1790s. Marquis of Lothian, Hunter of Crailing.
13. No fares paid on Sunday by members attending Crailing parish church.
14. Mainly members of Crailing parish church.
15. 1770. Bridges built over river Teviot at Ancrum and Oxnam.
Ferry continued to operate.

Cramond

1. Cramond.
2. Lothian.
3. River Almond.
4. NT 1877.
5. Edinburgh 3. South Queensferry 5.
8. 1653.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat using only 1 oar at the stern of the boat.
11. 1653. John, Earl of Haddington.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1985. Ferry functioning.

Crathes

1. Crathes.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee. Communication route between Crathes Castle on the north side and Tilquilly Castle on the south side.
4. NO 7596.
5. Aberdeen 14. Banchory (Ternan) 3.
8. 1862. Replaced by an iron bridge at Durris.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. The Burnetts of Leys.
14. Local inhabitants, particularly the family and employees of Crathes estate and castle.

Crathie

1. Crathie.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 2694.
5. Ballater 7.
7. 1834. Replaced by erection of a chain suspension bridge.
8. 1645.
9. Two.
10. Rowing boats.
11. 1752. Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Troops.
15. 1645. Ferry house used as an inn.
Montrose crossed this ferry from Angus.
1696. Crathie centre of sizeable population.

Creagan, Cregan, Crigan.

1. Creagan, Cregan, Crigan.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Creran. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile.
4. NM 9744.
5. Oban 12. Port Appin 3. Shian 3.
8. 1800.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat with sail.
13. Ferryman expected additional remuneration from travellers
in the form of whisky.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods. Mail.
15. 1800. Recommendation by Francis Ronaldson, (Surveyor for
the Post Office in Scotland) that the mail be transported
on the "Crigan Ferry" instead of the ferry at Shian.
1803. Dorothy and William Wordsworth used this ferry. Dorothy
Wordsworth recorded the delay and inconvenience suffered
due to the unreliability of the ferryman.
1808. The recognised route for mail between Bonawe and Appin
included the Cregan ferry over Loch Creran.
- Prior to 1833. Mail charged at 3d. (each journey) 3 times per week.
1833. Mail transported daily. Cost, £13 per annum.
1845. Boats incapable of transporting horses or carriages.
Joseph Mitchell used this ferry.

Cree, Ferry Town of

1. Cree, Ferry Town of
2. Dumfries and Galloway 4.
3. River Cree.
4. NX 4758.
5. Newton-Stewart 6. Dumfries 43.
6. 14th century.
7. 1740. Bridge built across river Cree at Newton-Stewart.
9. One.
10. Small, undecked sail boat. Known as 'The Packet'.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1791. Erected burgh of barony.
At low tide passage fordable. Arrival of ferry boat at
Wigtown heralded by the blowing of a horn.

Creggans

1. Creggans (see Strachur).
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Fyne. Furnace.
4. NN 0802.
5. Inveraray 21. Strachur 1. Tarbet 22.
8. 1563.
9. More than one. Exact number unknown.
10. Large rowing boats with sail.
11. 1790s. General John Campbell of Strachur.
13. 1772. Review of fares charged:

Since 1672 ferry dues partially a victual stent payable from neighbouring farms, and partly a "trifle money payable by strangers passing that way", i.e. 3 bolls of corn annually from neighbouring farms.

1 single passenger	2d. Sterling
2 or more passengers	1d. (each)
1 man and 1 horse	4d.
1 horse	3d.
1 Cow, bound and laid	2d.
1 Cow, when standing	1½d.
3 Sheep	1d.

Recommendations for change:

Victual payment remain the same.

1 single passenger	4d. Sterling
2 or more passengers	2d. (each)
1 man, 1 horse	4d.
1 Cow	3d.
1 Sheep	½d.

Recommendation agreed and implemented with the exception of the payment of corn which was abolished.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1563. Mary, Queen of Scots used this ferry.
1704. William Lamont, a Commissioner of Supply signed an order "to disable or break" MacCailen's boat which was providing an illegal ferry.
1745. /

15 contd.

1745. Ferry was used to transport stone from Creggans quarry to Inveraray.

1745. Lauchlan MacLachlan and his clansmen used this ferry to join Jacobite forces.

Crinan

1. Crinan.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Crinan. North Knapdale $\frac{3}{4}$ mile.
4. NR 7993.
5. Loch Gilphead 7.
8. 1766.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat with sail.
11. Late 18th century. Neil Campbell of Duntroon.
13. 1766. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	1d. sterling
1 man, 1 horse	2d. sterling
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1766. New quay built. Cost £15 Sterling.
Ferry house built prior to 1766.

Croggan or Creggan

1. Croggan or Creggan.
2. Island of Mull.
3. Firth of Lorn. Lorn 10.
4. NM 7027.
5. Auchnacraig 12. Kinlochspelvie 4.
8. 1834.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Black cattle.
Other animals. Goods.

Cromarty

1. Cromarty. Known as "The King's Ferry".
2. Highland.
3. Cromarty Firth. Invergordon 5, Dunskeath $\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NH 7867.
5. Dingwall 24. Inverness 38.
8. 1457.
9. 1663. Two.
10. 17th, 18th, mid-19th centuries. Open sailing boats which were large enough to transport horses.
11. 1457. James II.
1613-60. Sir Thomas Urquhart.
1703. Earls of Cromarty.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1264. Cromarty mentioned as a burgh.
1457. James II allocated part of revenue from ferry to
upkeep of Chaplainry of Tain.
1497 and 1501. James IV used ferry.
1592. Francis, Earl of Bothwell used ferry.
1663. Ross of Balnagown paid "for the twa botts that crocit
with our horses".
1677. Thomas Kirk crossed in "a very bad boat".
1785. New pier constructed.
1792. Ferry house built.
1794. Statement that "scarce any weather will prevent the
course of the ferry boat... The safety of this ferry
may be judged of when no accident has been known to have
happened upon it in the memory of man".
1795. /

15 contd.

1795. Sir John Sinclair commented, "Improvements have been looked for in vain at these ferries for this intercourse has not yet become so frequent as to encourage individuals (proprietors) to risk any experiments..."

1846. Travellers summoned the ferry from the other side (Nigg) by lighting a fire on a knoll beside the lighthouse (built 1846).

Cromdale

1. Cromdale.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NJ 0729.
5. Craigellachie 21. Grantown 3.
7. 1881. Replaced by suspension foot bridge.
8. 1734.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1609. Cromdale erected burgh of barony.

Crook-Boat

1. Crook-boat.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde. Right bank of Douglas Water.
4. NS 8939.
5. Douglas 7. Lanark 4.
7. 1773. Replaced by bridge. Known as Hyndford Bridge.
8. 1671.
11. 1671. Baillies and council of Lanark.
12. 1749. John Clelland.
1751. John Clelland.
15. 1671. 14th December. "The Baillies and Counsell is content to give the botters of Cruik-Boatt ten punds to make up ane neu boat at Cruik boat betwixt and Candlemas nixt".
1740. James Clelland paid £4 for making a causeway at Crook-boat.
1749. John Clelland claimed £18 sterling for damage to boats in 1745.
1751. John Clelland awarded £10 damages.

Crossford

1. Crossford.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde.
4. NS 8246.
5. Hamilton 9. Lanark 4.
8. 1650: 1817.
9. Two.
10. Rowing boats.
11. Baillies and council of Lanark.
12. 1721-1735. John Jack.
 1735-1740. James Clelland.
 1740-1745. William Martin.
 1746 Martha Berwick.
 1750-1758. John Lockhart.
 1740-1758. Each ferryman/woman was paid £1. 5/- per annum for
 ferrying over the Lanark post.
 1809. Archibald Martin bought Crossford ferry rights.
13. 1817. Foot passengers 1d. each.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Troops.
15. 1817. Court of Session ruled in favour of Archibald Martin
 regarding complaint against John Thomson. Thomson
 had established a rival ferry nearby. Thomson
 ordered to pay Martin £3. 19/- for loss of earnings
 and costs, 15/-.

Cullnamune

1. Cullnamune.
2. Central.
3. Endrick Water.
4. NS 4687.
5. Dumbarton 11. Glasgow 18.
8. 1633.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Buchanan Parish Church Session.
14. Local inhabitants. Members of Buchanan Parish Church.
15. 1633. Rev. Archibald Cameron, minister of Buchanan Parish Church, complained against Sir John Buchanan. Violent behaviour by his tenants prevented the minister from using the ferry and thus from conducting services. Petition heard by Privy Council. Ruling in favour of the minister being permitted to use ferry boat freely.

Cupar (Fife)

1. Cupar (Fife).
2. Fife.
3. River Eden.
4. NO 3714.
5. Dundee 13. Perth 22. St. Andrews 10.
8. 1652.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1327. Cupar mentioned as a burgh.

Dallpatrick

1. Dalpatrick.
2. Tayside.
3. River Earn.
4. NN 8918.
5. Auchterarder 6. Crieff 4.
8. 1748.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.

Dalmaik

1. Dalmaik.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 8198.
5. Durris 3. Peterculter 3.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Members of old Dalmaik church. Family and employees at Dalmaik farm. Important crossing for cattle droves which used the adjacent ford.

Dalreoch

1. Dalreoch.
2. Tayside.
3. River Earn.
4. NO 0017
5. Auchterarder 3. Dunning 2. Perth 11.
7. 1760. Replaced by bridge. £100 granted to the construction
of bridge by Commissioners for the Annexed Estates.
11. 18th century. Mungo Haldane of Gleneagles.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. General traffic on main
road to Perth from Stirling.

Dalsørf

1. Dalsørf.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde.
4. NS 8050.
5. Hamilton 7. Larkhall 3.
8. 1790.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Churchgoers to parish church. Coal.

Dalvey

1. Dalvey.
2. Highland.
3. River Spey.
4. NJ 1032.
5. Aberlour 16. Grantown 6.
8. 1765.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Darnick or Darnwick

1. Darnick or Darnwick.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 5334.
5. Melrose 1. Galashiels 3.
6. Prior to 1590.
7. 1750. Replaced by bridge.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat (small).
11. Heiton family.
14. Local inhabitants.

Dalnapot

1. Dalnapot.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey at confluence with River Avon.
4. NJ 1737.
5. Aberlour 9. Balnellan 1.
8. 1734.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.

Dennily, Miln of

1. Dennily, Miln of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 5398.
5. Aboyne $1\frac{1}{2}$. Banchory $11\frac{1}{2}$.
8. 1734.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.

Dingwall

1. Dingwall.
2. Highland.
3. Cromarty Firth. Alcaig $1\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NH 5658.
5. Invergordon 12. Inverness 21.
8. 1549.
9. 18th and 19th centuries. Two.
10. 18th and 19th centuries. One, large, for conveying
carriages, horses and "bulky articles": one, "very small" for
foot passengers.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1227. Dingwall erected a burgh.
Tide hazardous at this ferry.
Since 1774 "scarce a year has passed without the loss
of some life on it".

Dinnet, Boat of.

1. Dinnet, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 4698.
5. Aboyne 5. Ballater 6.
7. 1862. Replaced by a bridge.
8. 18th century.
9. Two.
10. A small rowing boat for foot passengers; a large rowing boat for animals.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Pack horses.
15. 1862. When the bridge was built no roads were constructed. Consequently, wheeled traffic was required to go to Aboyne to cross the river.

Dog's Ferry

1. Dog's Ferry.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Leven.
4. NN 1361.
5. Ballachulish (South) 3. Glencoe village 1.
8. 1692.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Troops (in 17th century).

Doirlinn

1. Doirlinn.
2. Highland (Morvern).
3. Loch Sunart. Glenborrodale (Ardnamurchan) $1\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NM 6058.
5. Lochaline village 9.
8. 1790s.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Cattle.
Other animals. Goods.
15. 1791. Complaint regarding the unreliability of the ferrymen.
1794. A "dram house" established at this ferry.

Dollerie

1. Dollerie.
2. Tayside.
3. River Pow.
4. NN 9822.
5. Madderty 3. Perth 12.
8. 1734.
9. Two.
10. Rowing boats. Large boat for horses, small boat for foot passengers.
11. 1734. Anthony Murray.
14. Local inhabitants. Family and employees of Dollerie House.

Dornie

1. Dornie.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Alsh where it joins Loch Long and Loch Duich. Ardelve.
4. NG 8826.
5. Kyle of Loch Alsh 8. Sheil Bridge 6.
8. Prior to 1719.
9. Two.
10. Large rowing boats, one used for foot passengers.
11. Earls of Seaforth.
13. 1820. Regulation that all vessels be prohibited from anchoring within "One hundred fathoms" of either of the ferry piers or from "being made fast to any part of the same".
Offenders to be penalised, "over and above giving liberty to cut the cables of such a vessel".
1820. Fares charged: ($\frac{1}{3}$ more on each fare if the boat used between 8 p.m. and 4 a.m. from 1st November to 1st April)

1 single passenger	2d.
More than 1 passenger	1d.
4 wheeled carriage, 2 horses	4/-
2 wheeled carriage, 2 horses, driver	1/6d.
1 loaded cart and horse	1/-
1 Empty cart and horse	6d.
Black cattle - less than 6	2d. each
- more than 6	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. each
Sheep of all ages	$\frac{1}{2}$ d. each
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Animals. Vehicles. Goods.
15. 1719. Used by MacCrae and Mackenzie clansmen.

Dornoch

1. Dornoch.
2. Highland.
3. Firth of Dornoch. Tain 5.
4. NH 8089.
5. Dingwall 41. Inverness 62. Lairg 22.
8. 1745.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Soldiers. Horses. Goods.
15. 1628. Dornoch mentioned as a burgh.
1811. Complaint regarding lack of skill of ferryman.

Doune

1. Doune.
2. Central.
3. River Teith.
4. NN 7201.
5. Callander 8. Perth 32. Stirling 9.
7. 1535. Replaced by bridge built by Robert Spittal.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1530s. Robert Spittal, tailor to Queen Margaret, wife of James IV had a dispute with ferryman. Built the bridge and ferryman made redundant.

Downcraig

1. Downcraig.
 2. Strathclyde (Great Cumbrae island).
 3. Firth of Clyde. Largs 1.
 4. NS 1857.
 5. Millport (on Great Cumbrae island) 2.
15. No reference to this ferry was found in the records. It was only located on the OS map.

Drip

1. Drip.
2. Central.
3. River Forth.
4. NS 7696.
5. Bridge of Allan $3\frac{1}{2}$. Stirling $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. 1780. Replaced by bridge costing over £700.
8. 1715.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
12. 1715. John McFeat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Goods. Lime.
15. 1715. John McFeat, ferryman paid £2. 2/- Scots weekly
 "for giveing accompt ... of the persons ferried..."
 1745. Ferry used by Prince Charles Edward Stewart.
 18th century. Ferry transported lime when Flanders Moss
 was being reclaimed by Lord Kaimes of Blairdrummond.

Drum, Mills of, East Boat

1. Drum, Mills of, East Boat.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee. West of confluence of the river Drum.
4. NO 7997.
5. Durris 1. Peterculter 5.
7. 1862. Replaced by an iron bridge at Durris.
8. 1644.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Members of Durris parish church.
15. 1644. James Graham, Marquis of Montrose used this ferry.

Drum, Mills of, West Boat

1. Drum, Mills of, West Boat.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee. East of confluence of river Drum.
4. NO 7998.
5. Durris 2. Peterculter 4.
7. 1862. Replaced by an iron bridge at Durris.
8. 1644.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods. Beasts.
15. Ferry house used as an inn called "The Boathole Inn." This ferry carried more weight of traffic than the East Boat of Mills of Drum.
1644. James Graham, Marquis of Montrose used this ferry.

Drum, Nether Mills of.

1. Drum, Nether Mills of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 7997.
5. Durris $1\frac{1}{2}$. Peterculter $4\frac{1}{2}$.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Smuggled goods.

Dryburgh

1. Dryburgh.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 5832.
5. Jedburgh 13. Lauder 13. Melrose 6.
7. 1817. Replaced by wire suspension bridge.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Abbots of Dryburgh Abbey.
 1640. Earl of Mar.
 1682. Sir Patrick Scott, younger, of Ancrum.
 1700. Thomas Haliburton of Newmains.
 1767. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Tod.
 1786. David Stewart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1526/7. Dryburgh erected burgh of barony.

Drymen or Catter

1. Drymen or Catter.
2. Central.
3. Endrick Water.
4. NS 4787.
5. Dumbarton 12. Glasgow 19.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Members of Drymen Parish Church.

Duirinish

1. Duirinish.
2. Island of Skye (Loch Pooltiel).
3. Little Minch. Tarbert (Island of Harris) 30.
4. NG 1550.
5. Dunvegan (on island of Skye) 9.
8. 1782.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. 18th century. Some boats open from end to end, others
decked or half-decked with open hatchway for loading.
Larger boats held up to 50 cattle. Stones, which
acted as ballast, covered with birch branches, heather
or bracken to lessen strain on boat timbers and prevent
cattle dung blocking boat pumps.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders. Black
cattle. Other animals. Goods.

Dumbarton

1. Dumbarton.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Glasgow 15. Greenock 7.
4. NS 3975.
5. Glasgow 15. Helensburgh 8.
8. 1723.
9. Number of sailing boats unknown.
1840s. Two steam boats in addition to sailing boats.
10. 1723. Rowing boat. Also pinnaces, yawls.
19th century. Packet boats. Steam boats.
1840s. Steam boats and sailing boats.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals, particularly
cattle. Vehicles. Freight.
15. 1222. Dumbarton erected burgh.

Dun

1. Dun.
2. Tayside.
3. River South Esk.
4. NO 6658.
5. Brechin 5. Montrose 4.
8. 1770s.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1770s. This ferry was said to be unreliable.

Dunagoil

1. Dunagoil.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Sound of Bute. Arran (It is not clear where this ferry terminated).
4. NS 0853 (approximately).
5. Rothesay 12.
8. 1684.
9. One.
10. A boat "well furnished with a mast, sail and 4 oars". It must be large enough to accommodate passengers with "meat, drink, fire and bedding".
12. Ferryman "put under caution, so the ferry will be well-ordered".
13. Fare charged: 30/- Scots for every voyage. (It is not clear whether this charge is per person or divided among the passengers).
14. Local inhabitants. Traders. Horses.

Dundee

1. Dundee
2. Tayside.
3. Firth of Tay. Newport 1½. Woodhaven 2.
4. NO 4029.
5. Arbroath 18. Perth 21.
8. 1481: to Newport. 1516: to Woodhaven.
9. Prior to 1819. At least twenty-five.
 1819-1821. Reduced number of boats. Exact number unknown.
 1821-1823. Eight.
 1823. Four.
10. Prior to 1821. Sail boats, pinnaces, yawls.
 1821. Steam boat, "The Union". (Cost £4,245. 8. 6d.)
 1823. Additional steam boat, "George IV". (Cost £4,330. 14. 10d.)
11. 1565. Provost and Baillies of Dundee appointed Keepers of
 Passage of Tay.
 1641. Duke of Lennox, Lord High Admiral of Scotland
 appointed Magistrates of Dundee as Admirals-Depute of
 the river Tay.
 1819. Appointment of Tay Ferry Trustees.
 Trustees included:
 Lord Chief Baron of His Majestie's Court of Exchequer (Scotland);
 Lord President of Court of Session;
 Lord Justice Clerk;
 Lord Chief Commissioner of Jury Court;
 His Majestie's Advocate;
 Solicitor General;
 Commander of His Majestie's Forces in North Britain;
 Sheriffs-Depute of Fife and Forfar;
 Provost of Dundee.
12. 1821. Wages of ferrymen including crews for one steam boat
 (Engineer, 6 seamen, 1 fireman) and two sailing boats
 (4 men in each) totalled £800 for one year.
13. /

15 contd. .

- 1639. Durham of Grange, Graham of Fintrie, the Constable of Dundee, Magistrates of Dundee appointed to supervise the condition of the ferry boats.
- 1658. Richard Franck records method of navigation used by ferrymen: trusses of straw located in stern, one straw after another placed in water to determine direction and strength of current and enable ferryman to judge a proper course.
- 1689. Order by Committee of Estates to "secure boats" and to "secure such personages who can give no good account of themselves".
- 1815. 16 people drowned.
- 1821. Ferrymen employed on boats, pinnaces and yawls made redundant by the employment of a steam boat received compensation, provided they had served for seven years.
- 1829. 4 ferrymen drowned.

Dunkeld, East

1. Dunkeld. East (Little Dunkeld).
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay.
4. NO 0242.
5. Blairgowrie 12. Perth 15. Pitlochry 13.
7. 1809. Replaced by bridge designed by Telford.
8. 1510.
9. Four. (Large, medium, small, coble).
10. Rowing boats.
11. Bishops of Dunkeld.
Duke of Atholl.
14. 1789. Foot passenger $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
Man and horse 1d.
Horse and cart $1\frac{1}{2}$ d or 2d.
15. 1704. Dunkeld erected royal burgh.
1789. Dunkeld carter paid no money, instead provided a
dram or bottle of ale.
1799. Complaints regarding delays at ferry. Dangerous
current prevents direct crossing.
Ferry boats inadequate.

Dunkeld, West

1. Dunkeld. West (from Duke of Atholl's grounds which adjoin Cathedral).
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay.
4. NO 0242.
5. Amulree 10. Perth 15. Pitlochry 13.
7. 1809. Replaced by bridge designed by Telford.
8. 1461.
9. Three (large, medium, small).
10. Rowing boats.
11. Bishops of Dunkeld.
Dukes of Atholl.
13. 1801. Fare: "a bawbie".
14. Passengers.
15. 1704. Dunkeld erected royal burgh.
1803. Ferryman stationed on north bank, which caused
delay to passengers waiting on south bank.

Dunlugas

1. Dunlugas.
2. Grampian.
3. River Deveron.
4. NJ 6955.
5. Banff 8. Turriff 6.
8. 1658.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. In 1658. Alexander Urquhart of Dunlugas.
14. Local inhabitants.

Dunollie

1. Dunollie.
2. Highland.
3. Sound of Kerrera. Ardentrive (Island of Kerrera).
4. NM 8531.
5. Connel 5. Oban 1½.
8. 1790s.
9. One.
10. Prior to 1824. Small rowing boat.
After 1824. "A good, sufficient boat of not less than
22 foot keel".
11. MacDougall of Dunollie.
12. After 1824. 4 ferrymen employed.
14. Local inhabitants. Drovers.

Dunoon

1. Dunoon.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Cloch $2\frac{3}{4}$. Inverkip $3\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NS 1776.
5. Inveraray 39. Kirn 1.
8. 1618.
9. Number of boats unknown.
10. 1649. "a ship of ten oars". Open packet boats.
 19th century, steam boats (at least 12 steam boats plied
 the Firth of Clyde from 1820). Use of open ferry
 boats ceased in 1835.
11. 1618. Alexander Campbell of Kilbryde.
 1658. Iver Campbell of Kilbryde.
 1668. Charles Campbell of Ballochyle.
 1668-1813. Campbells of Ballochyle.
 1813. Alexander Campbell of Ballochyle.
12. 1621. John Ure.
 1653. Allister Ure.
 1812. Gregor McGregor.
13. 1790s. The hire of a ferry boat 1/-.
 More than 3 passengers, 3d. each.
 1830s. In steam boat, per person, 5/6d. cabin, 3/6d. second class.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Animals, mainly
 cattle. Goods.
15. 1733. Effort made to improve quay.
 1767. New quay destroyed by storm.
 1777. Case of Campbell v Campbell concerning damage to land
 by cattle after being ferried.
 1790. New ferry house built, used as an inn.
 1813. /

15 contd.

1813. Campbell of Glendaruel v Campbell of Ballochyle.
Petition to remove ferry location from Dunoon to
make Kirn principal ferry. Petition rejected.
1835. Wooden quay built to accommodate steam boats at
all states of the tide. Open boats to transfer
steam boat passengers to the shore no longer
required.
1845. Enlarged stone pier built. Cost undertaken by
Mr. Hunter of Hafton.
- 19th century. Regular daily communication by steam boat
with Greenock and Gourock.

Dunvegan

1. Dunvegan.
2. Island of Skye.
3. The Little Minch. Lochmaddy (Island of North Uist) 27.
Castlebay (Island of Barra) 60.
4. NG 2547.
5. Portree 22. Uig 28 (both on island of Skye).
8. 1720s.
9. Number unknown.
10. 1769. Description of boat(s); "small and insufficient".
1790s. Boats for transporting cattle could be between
10 and 15 tons.
13. 1798. Cost of carrying mail. £72. 17. Od. per annum.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders. Black cattle.
Other animals. Goods. Mail.
15. 1798. Local proprietors in North Uist subscribed to establish
a boat to carry mail between Lochmaddy and Dunvegan.
1790s to 1820s. This was the main ferry terminal for black
cattle being exported from the Outer Hebrides.
1806. Petition from local inhabitants for a road to be
constructed from Dunvegan to Snizort to facilitate
the movement of cattle to Portree.
1790s to 1820s. Two methods of disembarking cattle:
 - i. Cattle were forced overboard and swam ashore.
 - ii. A rough block and tackle was rigged on a yard from
the mast to hoist the beasts out of the boat.

Durris

1. Durris.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 7796.
5. Aberdeen 13. Banchory 4.
8. 1658.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 1658. William Grant of Conglas, tenant:
Andrew, Lord Fraser, proprietor.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1540/1. Durris erected burgh.

Dysart

1. Dysart.
2. Fife.
3. Firth of Forth. Leith 10.
4. NT 3093.
5. Leven 8. Kirkcaldy 2.
7. 1850s. Ferry superceded by railway ferry at Burntisland.
8. 18th century.
9. 1814. One.
10. Prior to 1817. Pinnacle.
1817 onwards. Steam boat.
11. 1817. London, Leith, Edinburgh and Glasgow Shipping Company.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Freight.
15. 1510. Dysart burgh of barony.
1819. Opposition to London, Leith, Edinburgh and Glasgow
Shipping Company from Town Councils of Leith,
Kirkcaldy, City of Edinburgh, other steam boat
proprietors, feuars of Abbotshall. Petition resulted
in limiting of Shipping Company's operations to the
ferry passage between Dysart and Leith and Kirkcaldy
and Leith. 7 year lease.

Earlsferry

1. Earlsferry.
2. Fife.
3. Firth of Forth. North Berwick 10.
4. NT 4799.
5. Anstruther 6. Elie 1. Leven 9.
7. Circa 1700. Replaced by ferry services at shorter crossings
from Kinghorn, Queensferry etc.
8. 11th century.
13. 1290. Fare to North Berwick "not more than 4d. whatever your
freight".
14. Travellers. The Earls of Fife and their retinue. Pilgrims
going to St. Andrews.
15. 12th century. Small chapel with a hospice built near ferry
point.
A privilege conferred upon refugees fleeing
from Earlsferry guaranteed no pursuit until
they were halfway across the passage.
1589. Earlsferry erected royal burgh.
16th century. 2 weekly markets, 2 annual fares held in
Earlsferry.

Elchies, Wester

1. Elchies, Wester.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NJ 2844.
5. Charlestown of Aberlour 6. Craigellachie 7.
8. 1845.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. 1828. J.W. Grant.
13. 1845. Foot passenger 1d.
 Horse 4d.
14. Local inhabitants, families and employees from mansions
 of Easter Elchies, Wester Elchies, Knockando House and
 Laggan House. Goods. Horses.

Ellon

1. Ellon.
2. Grampian.
3. River Ythan.
4. NJ 9730.
5. Aberdeen 16. Village of Ellon 1. Peterhead 18.
7. 20th century. Need for ferry service declined and ferry
ceased to function.
8. 16th century.
9. Two.
10. Rowing boats.
11. 16th century. Proprietor, Bishop of St. Andrews.
18th and 19th centuries. The Earls of Erroll.
12. 1721. Tack of one ferry boat to John Taylor, rent 200 merks
per annum.
Tack of other ferry boat to Thomas Murray, rent 160 merks
per annum.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1707. Ellon erected burgh of barony.
1708. Petition from John Gordon, agent, to Earl of Erroll
regarding "insufficient state of boats on the water
of Ythan".

Erskine.

1. Erskine.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde. East ferry to Bowling. West ferry to Old Kilpatrick.
4. NS 4672.
5. Dumbarton 7. Glasgow 12.
8. 18th century.
9. One on east ferry.
One on west ferry.

10. East Ferry:

Prior to 1830s. Rowing boat, large.

1830-1890. Steam powered boat.

1890. Chain operated boat.

West Ferry:

Rowing boat to accommodate passengers only.

11. Lords of Blantyre.

13. 1840. East Ferry fares:

1 passenger crossing	1d.
1 passenger going on board steamer	2d.
4 wheeled chaise: 2 horses	2/6d.
1 gig with 1 horse	1/6d.
1 horse	4d.
1 cow	2 d.
Sheep per score	1/-

14. Local inhabitants. Workers. Cattle. Carts. Carriages.

Animals. Freight.

Eskadale

1. Eskadale.
2. Highland.
3. River Beaully.
4. NH 4641.
5. Beaully 7.
8. 1852.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Ettrick

1. Ettrick.
2. Borders.
3. Ettrick Water.
4. NT 3722.
5. Selkirk 7.
6. 1647.
7. 1739. Replaced by bridge costing £550. 18. 4d.
 Bridge collapsed 1777.
 1777. Ferry reinstated.
9. Two.
10. Original boat a coble. Replaced by one "big boat",
 one "little boat".
11. 1770s. Selkirk Town Council.
12. 1650s. Ferry let to William Brown, £3 per annum.
 1715. Ferry let to Gray, miller, £6 per annum.
 1777. Ferry let to Robert Clapperton, dyer in Selkirk mill.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. Bridge destroyed by storm, 1777. One man drowned.

Eynort

1. Eynort.
2. Island of Skye. Loch Eynort.
3. The Little Minch. Lochboisdale (Island of South Uist) 38.
4. NG 3826.
5. Sligachan (on island of Skye) 9.
8. 1790s.
9. Number unknown until 1840s.
1840s. Four.
10. Boats for transporting cattle. Could be between 10 and
15 tons.
1840s. "Decked vessels of small burthen".
12. Number of crew, 4 or 5 men.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Animals.
Goods.

Farr

1. Farr.
2. Highland.
3. River Naver. Achina.
4. NC 6961.
5. Thurso 28. Tongue 10.
8. 1850.
9. One.
10. A large, flat boat, moved from one side of river to the other by windlass and chain attached under boat and connected to banks.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Carriages.
Carts. Goods.
15. Ferry boat could carry 7 or 8 tons weight, was capable of transporting 200 passengers, could convey a carriage and horses without horses being unhitched.

Feolin

1. Feolin.
2. Island of Jura.
3. Sound of Islay. Askaig, Port of (Island of Islay) 1.
Scalasaig (Island of Colonsay) 16.
4. NR 4469.
5. Lagg 15.
7. 1830s. Gradually superceded by the employment of steam boats
sailing from Clyde estuary ports.
8. 1769.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Large rowing boat(s) with sails.
13. 1791. Cost of sending mail once per week, £70 (£40 from "the
country", £30 from the government).
14. Local inhabitants. Drovers. Travellers. Black cattle.
Other animals. Goods. Bere and meal. Mail.
15. 1772. Estimated 1,700 cattle transported on ferry.
1801-1807. Average number of black cattle ferried annually 2,640.

Ferrar, Boat of

1. Ferrar, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 5197.
5. Aboyne 2. Ballater 9.
8. 17th century.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. This ferry connected the old Deeside road with Glen Tanar.

A ford existed beside the ferry passage but it was frequently damaged or blocked by large boulders.

Ferryhill.

1. Ferryhill.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NJ 9404.
5. Aberdeen $1\frac{1}{2}$. Banchory (Devenick) $1\frac{1}{2}$.
7. 1831. Replaced by Wellington Suspension Bridge,
costing £10,000.
11. Prior to 18th century. Aberdeen Town Council.
18th century. Privately owned by the Kennedy family.
14. Local inhabitants.

Ferry Port-on-Craig or Tayport

1. Ferry Port-on-Craig or Tayport.
2. Fife.
3. Firth of Tay. Broughty Ferry 1.
4. NO 4628.
5. Newport 3. St. Andrews 11.
8. 1474.
9. Number of boats unknown.
10. Sailing boats, pinnaces, yawls.
11. 1485. Right of ferry acquired by Alexander, Lord Lindsay from Lord Glamis. Right of ferry included Broughty Ferry
1655. Owned by Alexander Lindsay of Pitcairlie, descendent of 3rd Earl of Crawford.
1683. Acquired by Sir Patrick Lyon of Carse.
1693. Inherited by William Lyon.
1737. Dundee Town Council bought ferry rights for 21 guineas.
12. 1474. Extortion by ferrymen punished by fine of 40/- paid to James III, together with imprisonment.
Ferrymen required to "mak brigges" for their boats.
13. Fares:

1474.	1 man	1d.
	1 horse	1d.
1791.	1 man	2d.
	1 horse	4d.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Animals. Freight. Coal.
15. 1598-9. Ferry Port-on-Craig erected burgh of barony.
1725. Erected burgh of regality.
- 1605 and 1665. Regular ferry service stopped temporarily to prevent spread of plague.
- Until 1606. No quay built.
1685. Privy Council authorised Charles Robertson, postmaster at Ferry Port-on-Craig to seize all ferry boats and to prevent any person to be ferried across the Tay.
1772. Opening of bridge at Perth affected ferry traffic.
- 1606-1781. /

15 contd.

- 1606-1781. Poor quay constructed of wood.
1781. Magistrates of Dundee built new pier. Cost £140 sterling.
1791. Customs house located at ferry. A king's boat
manned by 6 men under command of tide surveyor.
1793. Ferry traffic dwindled.
Ferry used mainly for transportation of cattle.
1819. Ferry landing place in poor state.
1821. Ferry used only for pedestrian traffic. Vehicular
and bestial trade taken by steam boats at Newport
and Woodhaven ferry locations.

Faugh, Boat of

1. Faugh, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. Water of Faugh.
4. NO 7095.
5. Banchory $\frac{1}{2}$. Crathes $3\frac{1}{2}$.
7. Early 17th century replaced by bridge.
8. 1724.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Fiart

1. Fiart.
2. Island of Lismore.
3. Firth of Lorn. Ardachoirk (Island of Mull).
4. NM 7835.
5. Achnacroish (on island of Lismore) 3.
6. 1752.
9. 1752. No recognised ferry boat.
1760s. One ferry boat.
10. Large open rowing boat, with sail.
13. 1752. Fare authorised: 2/6d. for hire of boat.
1752-1788. Fare charged: 1/6d. for hire of boat.
1788. Fare charged: 2/6d. for hire of boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Soldiers (garrisoned at Duart Castle). Goods.
15. 1752. Complaint that inhabitants of Fiart pressed into ferrying
by soldiers garrisoned in Duart Castle in Mull.
1752. Petition to establish a regular ferry with specific
rates and permission to build quays. Petition was
granted.
1770. Inhabitants of Combie's lands appointed to work on "the
quay at Feyard."
1788. Complaint that fare increased. Argument presented that the
fare charged had been authorised in 1752 but not implemented
until 1788.
Commissioners of Supply agreed to review fares charged
but in the meantime the fare of 1/6d. only to be charged.
1789. Inhabitants of Lismore prohibited from ferrying any passengers
to Mull. Penalty, a fine of £1 for each offence. Intimation
to be published at the Parish Church. Ferryman recommended
to give information concerning anyone who contravenes the
order.

Fiddich, Boat of

1. Fiddich, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NJ 2945.
5. Aberlour 2. Rothes 3.
8. 1747.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.

Findhorn.

1. Findhorn.
2. Grampian.
3. River Findhorn between Findhorn and Forres.
4. NJ 0160.
5. Forres 2. Elgin 9.
7. 1800. Replaced by bridge costing £1,799.
 1829. Bridge destroyed by flood.
 1829. Ferry reinstated temporarily.
 1831. Replaced by suspension bridge designed by Sir Samuel Brown RN.
8. 1782.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 1794. Earl of Moray.
13. 1829. One foot passenger $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
 All other fares to be half these exacted at
 Fochabers ferry.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods, salmon, coal (imported),
 lime. Mail.
15. 1532. Findhorn erected burgh of barony.
 1829. Temporary ferry.
 Inspector appointed to establish ferry. Access to ferry
 from Earl of Moray's land at Mundole and Sir William
 Cumming's land at Pitnisk road.
 Complaints from Sir W. Cumming and general public
 resulted in dismissal of inspector.
 Administration of ferry undertaken by specially appointed
 committee.

Fionnphort

1. Fionnphort.
2. Island of Mull.
3. Sound of Iona. Island of Iona.
4. NM 2923.
5. Fishnish 47.
8. From the 7th century.
9. One.
10. Until 20th century. Rowing boat. 1790s. "A clumsy open
coble rowed by four unskilled boatmen".
20th century. Motor boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Pilgrims. Goods.

Fishnish

1. Fishnish.
2. Island of Mull.
3. Sound of Mull. Knock (Morvern) 2.
4. NM 6442.
5. Tobermory 12. Salen 6.
8. 1790s.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Black cattle. Other animals.
Goods.
15. This ferry was known to transport cattle both from Fishnish to
Knock and from Knock to Fishnish.

Local cattle sales held in Morvern before the sale held at
Salen in Mull. These cattle were then routed to Kerrera and
finally to Lorn on the mainland.

1829. Fishnish was established as the only ferry location
in that area thus replacing Bailemeonach. Subsequently,
the ferry plied between Fishnish and Lochaline.

Fonab

1. Fonab.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay.
4. NN 9253.
5. Aberfeldy 5. Dunkeld 12.
8. 1684.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Goods.
15. 1684. Warning given by Privy Council regarding the
passing of stolen goods over this ferry. Penalty,
500 merks.

Forteviot

1. Forteviot.
2. Tayside.
3. River Earn at confluence with River May.
4. NO 0517.
5. Bridge of Earn 4. Forteviot village 1.
7. 1760. Replaced by bridge.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 12th century church at Forteviot.

Fortingall

1. Fortingall.
2. Tayside.
3. River Lyon.
4. NN 7347.
5. Aberfeldy 9. Kenmore 6.
7. 1791. Replaced by bridge.
8. 1754.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1754. Complaint regarding lack of communication in this area.
1791. 12 bridges, new roads built.

Foulis

1. Foulis.
2. Highland.
3. Cromarty Firth. Shoretown 2.
4. NH 5963.
5. Dingwall 4. Invergordon 10.
8. 1652 - 1900.
9. One.
12. 1652. Ferry tack by Robert Munro of Foulis to Neil Betone.
1900. William Mackenzie.
15. 1699. Foulis erected burgh of barony.

Frew

1. Frew.
2. Central.
3. River Forth.
4. NS 6796.
5. Kippen 2. Stirling 9.
8. 1724.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Goods.
15. 1724. Village of Thornhill, 4 miles north of ferry, held
a weekly market and 4 fairs annually.

Furnace

1. Furnace.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Fyne. Creggans (Strachur) 3.
4. NN 0300.
5. Inveraray 8. Lochgilphead 18.
8. 1755.
14. Local inhabitants. Traders. Goods. Wood.
15. 1755. A furnace for smelting iron ore built at
Inverleckan, later renamed Furnace. Wood was
required to supply fuel and charcoal for the
smelting process.
1815-1820. The furnace ceased to operate.
1841. A granite quarry was opened.
These commercial enterprises ensured consistency
of traffic at this ferry.

Gartartan

1. Gartartan.
2. Central.
3. River Forth.
4. NS 5398.
5. Aberfoyle 6. Stirling 15.
8. 1724.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 1724. Andrew Macfarlane of Gartartan.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. A ford lies adjacent to ferry passage.

Garten, Boat of

1. Garten, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NH 9419.
5. Aviemore 7. Grantown-on-Spey 8.
7. 1899. Replaced by bridge.
8. 19th century.
9. One.
10. Chain propelled, twin hulled boat supporting a substantial platform.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Gatehouse-of-Fleet

1. Gatehouse-of-Fleet.
2. Dumfries and Galloway.
3. River Dee.
4. NX 5956.
5. Ayr 55. Kirkcudbright 9.
8. 1791.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Glenborrodale

1. Glenborrodale.

2. Highland (Ardnamurchan).

3. Loch Sunart. Dairlinn (Morvern) $1\frac{1}{2}$.

4. NM 6060.

5. Strontian 15.

8. 1790s.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Cattle. Other animals. Goods.

15. 1791. Complaint regarding the unreliability of the ferrymen.

Glenelg

1. Glenelg.
2. Highland.
3. Kyle Rhea. Kylerhea $\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NG 7921.
5. Shiel Bridge 9.
8. 1716.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Large, flat-bottomed, open rowing boat(s).
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Soldiers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1716. The channel between Kylerhea and Glenelg so narrow that "one may call for the ferry boat and easily be heard on the other side".
1722. Barracks erected at Bernera near Glenelg village.
1772. Military road made to Glenelg.
- 1772-1776. Road repaired by military labour.
1776. Road allowed to fall into disrepair.
1811. Telford recommended rebuilding of this road as part of a network costing about £34,500 joining Glenelg with Killin.
1821. New quay built including a sloping cobbled slipway to facilitate cattle leaving water.
1840. Good road to the ferry at Glenelg.
- 1840s. A "reasonable" inn established.

Glenfinnan

1. Glenfinnan.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Shiel. Acharacle 8.
4. NM 9080.
5. Fort William 17. Kinlochmoidart 24.
8. Late 19th century.
9. One.
10. Steam boat (small).
15. Late 19th century. Regular daily service (except on Sundays).

Glen Tanar Church

1. Glen Tanar Church.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 4798.
5. Aboyne 3. Ballater 8.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. 19th century. Sir John Balfour of Denmilne.
14. Local inhabitants. Members of Glen Tanar church when it existed.
Tenants in Glen Tanar carried over peat from the Black Moss.
15. Glen Tanar church thatched with heather. Named the Black Chapel of the Moor. Destroyed early 19th century.

Govan or Meikle Govan

1. Govan or Meikle Govan (See Pointhouse).
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde. Pointhouse near mouth of river Kelvin.
4. NS 5565.
5. Glasgow 2. Renfrew 4.
8. 1593.
10. 16th century, rowing boat.
17th century, rowing boat.
Late 18th century, boat moved across river on a fixed chain.
11. 1785. Dougal McFarlane.
12. 1593/1594. John McNair. Also proprietor of the "Ferry Boat Inn" at ferry.
13. 1759. Ferry free of tolls, rates, duties.
14. Local inhabitants. Goods. Vehicles. Horses.
15. 1594. Complaint that McNair had failed to find "a sufficient man to serve the ferry".
1785. Robert McLintock intimated intention of closing public road to Govan ferry as he owned that ground.
1785. Petition by McFarlane against Glasgow City Council regarding damage to ferry quays during renovation operation in River Clyde.
1791. Glasgow City Council took legal steps to remove McLintock's obstruction.
City Council built new access road to ferry.
1791 Ferry in neglected state. Quay on north side completely sanded up. "Some gentlemen of the parish" propose to improve ferry and acquire a boat similar to ferry at Renfrew.
1794. New chain-operated ferry boat employed.

Grange Pow Ferry

1. Grange Pow Ferry.
2. Central.
3. Grange burn.
4. NS 9279.
5. Falkirk 3. Grangemouth 2.
8. 1748.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Granton

1. Granton.
2. Lothian.
3. Firth of Forth. Burntisland 5.
4. NT 2477.
5. Edinburgh 2½.
8. 19th century.
10. Prior to 1820s. Pinnaces, yawls.
 1820s-1848. Steam boats.
 1848 onwards. Steam ferry boats equipped to transport
 railway carriages.
11. 19th century. Dukes of Buccleuch.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles.
 Freight. Mail.
15. 1845. Completion of pier supporting railway lines, goods
 sheds, cranes etc.
 1848. Loaded railway trucks shipped on to ferry steamer
 and transported across the Forth.

Grantown-on-Spey

1. Grantown-on-Spey.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NJ 0426.
5. Kingussie 27. Inverness 35.
7. 1754. Replaced by bridge, the old Spey bridge.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Sir Ludovic Grant.
14. Local inhabitants. Troops.
15. 1694. Grantown erected burgh of regality.
 1754. At this time this bridge was the only permanent
 crossing place of the river Spey between Garvamore
 and the sea.

Gribon

1. Gribon.
2. Island of Mull.
3. Loch Tuath. Island of Ulva $\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NM 4439.
5. Kilninian 7. Salen 10.
8. 1773.

13. 1810. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	1/6d.
2 passengers	1/- (each)
3 or more passengers	8d.(each)

When passengers required 4 ferrymen, fare charged to be one half more than the normal rates.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

15. 1773. Dr. Johnson used this ferry.

Hatton, Boat of

1. Hatton, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Don.
4. NJ 8315.
5. Aberdeen 11. Kintore 3.
8. 1747.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.

Haughhead

1. Haughhead.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 3335.
5. Peebles 7. Galashiels 17.
8. 1749.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
12. 1752. Haughhead croft and ferry let for 50 Scots merks,
12 salmon each weighing 12 lbs., boat to be kept
in good repair.
15. 1749. James Brieden in Haughhead was paid 4/8d. "for
pitching the ferry boat with pitch and ocum" and
8 pints of tar. Tar cost 7d. per pint.

Haughton

1. Haughton.
2. Grampian.
3. River Don.
4. NJ 7520.
5. Inverurie $1\frac{1}{2}$. Kemnay $3\frac{1}{2}$.
8. 17th century.
14. Local inhabitants. Family residing at Haughton house.

Heilam

1. Heilam.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Eriboll. Portnancon $2\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NC 4560.
5. Eriboll 4. Tongue 10.
8. 1850.
9. One.
10. Large rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals.

Helmsdale

1. Helmsdale.
2. Highland.
3. River Helmadale.
4. ND 0215.
5. Dornoch 28. Inverness 87. Wick 37.
7. 1811. Replaced by bridge.
8. 1747.
9. One.
10. Coble "in the shape of a boat cut in two...".
14. Local inhabitants. Mail.
15. River could be forded (if not in spate) adjacent to the ferry passage.
1791. Recorded that in a spate "the ford is impracticable and the ferry very difficult".
1802. In order to establish a daily postal service between Dornoch and Wick £5 per annum was paid to ferries at Little Ferry and Helmsdale for their services.

Heugh-head

1. Heugh-head.
2. Tayside.
3. River Earn.
4. NO 1718.
5. Abernethie $1\frac{1}{2}$. Bridge of Earn $2\frac{1}{2}$.
8. 1734.
9. Two.
10. Rowing boats. One boat for horses, one boat for foot passengers.
14. Local inhabitants.

Higgins Neuk or Airth

1. Higgins Neuk or Airth.
2. Central.
3. River Forth, Kincardine.
4. NS 9286.
5. Airth $\frac{1}{2}$. Falkirk 6. Stirling 8.
8. 1349.
11. 1791. Sir John Erskine.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1791. Ferry boat departure times vary according to the tide.
 3 ferry locations used on the south bank, viz. Airth,
 Dunmore, Newmiln. Complaint regarding inconvenience
 of waiting for tide. At low water foot passengers
 required to wade to boat.

Hoddam

1. Hoddam.
2. Dumfries and Galloway.
3. River Annan.
4. NY 1573.
5. Annan 4. Ecclefechan 3.
7. 1764. Replaced by bridge.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 15th century. Herries family.
 - 1620s. Sir Richard Murray of Cockfoot.
 - 1650s. David, 1st Earl of Southesk.
 - 1690. John Sharpe.
 - 1690-1878. Sharpe family.
12. 1764. Matthew Sharpe of Hoddam.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1765. Matthew Sharpe was paid compensation for loss of ferry.

Hope

1. Hope.
2. Highland.
3. River Hope.
4. NC 4760.
5. Heilam 2. Tongue 8.
8. 1850.
9. One.
10. A large, flat boat moved from one side of river to the other by a windlass and chain attached under boat and connected to banks.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Carriages. Carts. Goods.
15. Ferry boat could carry 7 or 8 tons weight, was capable of transporting 200 passengers, could convey a carriage and horses without horses being unhitched.

Horncliff

1. Horncliff.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 9249.
5. Berwick-on-Tweed 5. Coldstream 8.
8. 1771.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Huna or Houna

1. Huna or Houna.
2. Highland.
3. Pentland Firth. Burwick (South Ronaldsay) 9.
4. ND 3673.
5. Thurso 17. Wick 15.
8. 1791.
9. One.
10. Open sailing boat.
11. Earl of Caithness.
13. 1791 Fares charged:

1 passenger travelling with mail	1/-
1 single passenger	7/-
Several passengers (between them)	9/-
1 Colt	1/-
1 Fully grown horse	1/8d.
A number of cattle (negotiable)	21/-

1815. Postmaster allowed 40/- per annum by Post Office for
maintenance of ferry boat.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Animals. Goods. Mail.
15. Prior to 1801. Mail ferried once per week, weather permitting.
- 1801-1830s. Mail ferried twice per week, weather permitting.
- 1840s. Mail ferried daily, weather permitting.
1811. Ferry inn available for travellers but MacCulloch
recorded that "No species or variety of Highland
midden can be compared with Houna inn".

Hunter's Quay

1. Hunter's Quay.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Gourock 4. Greenock 10.
4. NS 1879.
5. Benmore 5. Dunoon $3\frac{1}{2}$.
8. 18th century.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Until 1828 open sailing boat(s).
1828 onwards, steam boat(s).
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles. Freight.
15. 1828. Quay built with a projection and slipway.
19th century. Regular daily communication by steam boats
with Gourock and Greenock.

Imachār

1. Imachār.
2. Strathclyde. Island of Arran.
3. Kilbrannan Sound. Saddell (in Kintyre) 8.
4. NR 8640.
5. Blackwaterfoot (on island of Arran) 10.
8. 1852.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Inchbare, Boat of.

1. Inchbare, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee where it is joined by the burn of Tullisnath.
4. NO 6197.
5. Aboyne $5\frac{1}{2}$. Banchory $7\frac{1}{2}$.
7. 1682.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. 1682. Earl of Aboyne.
14. Local inhabitants.

Inchinnan

1. Inchinnan.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Black Cart Water.
4. NS 4968.
5. Erskine 3. Renfrew 3.
8. 1497.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 1497-1656. Proprietor, Earl of Lennox.
 1656-1663. Proprietor, Earl of Traquair.
 1663. Proprietor, Earl of Middleton.
12. 1497. Tacksman for the ferry and "all the lands pertaining...",
 Thomas Stewart of Barscube.
 1656. Tacksman, William Stewart, "the ferry and all the lands
 rights thereof".
 1663. Tacksman, Thomas Stewart "as heir to his late father William
 Stewart".
14. Local inhabitants, Travellers. Goods.
15. 1656. William Stewart, tacksman, required to promise "to ferrie
 over all strangers free upon the Sabbath day, but in
 speciall James Bell, Colonel Henry Sinclair and George
 Maxwell".

Inchmarlow, Boat of

1. Inchmarlow, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 6796.
5. Banchory 2.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. Late 18th century, Davidsons of Tillychetly.
14. Local inhabitants.

Inchyra

1. Inchyra.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay. Fingask on south bank.
4. NO 1820.
5. Kinfauns $2\frac{1}{2}$. Perth 7.
8. 1647.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. 1647. Andrew Blair.
1655. William Blair of Kinfauns.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1650. Charles II used this ferry.
1895. Ferry still functioning.

Innerpeffray

1. Innerpeffray.
2. Tayside.
3. River Earn.
4. NN 9018.
5. Auchterarder 5. Crieff 5.
8. 1551.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1691. Library founded with a bequest of David, 3rd Lord Madderty. This library attracted visitors.

Insch of Culter

1. Insch of Culter.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee. Maryculter to Culter.
4. NJ 8500.
5. Aberdeen 6.
6. 1613.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Members of Insch parish church.
15. 1677. Insch erected burgh of barony.
1921. Ferry still functioning.

Insh or Inch, Boat of

1. Insh or Inch, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey. Kincraig.
4. NH 8001.
5. Aviemore 10. Kingussie 4.
7. Early 19th century. Replaced by bridge.
8. 1718.
9. Two.
10. Rowing boats.
11. 1791. Sir George Macpherson Grant of Ballindalloch.
12. 1791. Alexander Grant. Ferry rent £17. 8. 10d. which
included the let of the boat house and croft.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Troops, particularly between
1718 and 1746 when the neighbouring Ruthven barracks
were fully garrisoned.

Inver

1. Inver.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay at influx of river Bran.
4. NO 0142.
5. Dunkeld 1. Pitlochry 12.
8. 1769.
9. Two.
10. Rowing boats. One, small for foot passengers, one, large for horses. The larger boat "a large, flat boat".
11. Duke of Atholl.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Horses.
15. Prior to 1769. An inn established at the ferry.
 - 1780s. Robert Burns used this ferry.
 - 1780s. Neil Gow entertained by playing his fiddle at the inn.
 - 1812. Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus used this ferry.

Inveraray

1. Invererary.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Fyne. St. Catherines 2.
4. NN 0908.
5. Glasgow 59. Lochgilphead 25.
8. 1680.
9. 1680-1788. One.
1788-1830s. Two.
1830 onwards. One.
10. 1680-1788. Rowing boat with sail.
1725. New boat built consisting of same length of keel and breadth of beam as the old one but "two strokes higher" and with mast, sail, oars, anchor and rudder.
1774. Cost of new boat £8. 6. 8d.
1788-1830s. A yawl for foot passengers.
A pinnace measuring 16 feet in length, 8 feet in breadth.
1830s onwards. A small steam boat.
11. The Dukes of Argyll.

12. Ferryman

Annual Sum paid for
let of ferry

1680. John Murray.	Not known.
1710. Donald Clark.	£20 Scots.
1723. Patrick Clark.	£22 Scots.
1724-1733. Donald McNair.	£30 Scots.
1733-1738. Alexander McDougall.	£ 2 Sterling.
1739-1770. William McGibbon and Donald McNicol.	£ 2 Sterling. (1739-45); £ 8 Sterling. (1745-47); £12 Sterling. (1747-70).
1770-1774. Archibald McGibbon.	£ 5 Sterling.
1774. Donald Fletcher.	£10 Sterling.
1775-1777. Donald Fletcher.	£10 Sterling.
1777. Donald Fletcher.	£12 Sterling.
1778-1781. Donald Fletcher.	£12. 5/- Sterling.
1781-1786. Donald Fletcher.	12/- Sterling.
1786-1805. Ferryman unknown	
1805-1806. Peter McNab.	£21 Sterling.
1807. John MacLauren	£19 Sterling.
1808. Malcolm Black.	£20. 5/- Sterling.

13. Fares charged:

1770.	1 single passenger	6d.
	2 or more passengers	3d. (each)
	1 man, 1 horse	9d.
1797.	1 single passenger	8d.
	2 or more passengers	8d. between them.
	1 horse	9d.
1809.	1 Horse, Cow, Ox	1d.
	1 Score sheep/goats	4d.
	1 Boll malt bere meal	6d.
	Potatoes or Salt	3d.
	1 Ton coal	1/-
	1 Roll of Tobacco	1d.
	1 Barrel butter, beef, herring	6d.
	1,000 slates	6d.
	1 Barrel bere ale or porter	6d.
	1 Crate glass, lime ware	11d.
	1 gross bottles	4d.
	1 bag packed hops	6d.
	1 cwt. sugar	6d.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Officials. Merchants.

Animals. Freight.

15. 1474. Inveraray erected burgh of barony.

1648. Erected as royal burgh.

1840s. Steam boats from Glasgow sailed regularly to Inveraray.

Inverbeg

1. Inverbeg.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Lomond.
4. NS 3497.
5. Luss 4. Tarbet 4.
8. 1625.
11. 1790s. "Family of Arrochar".
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods. Horses.
15. Late 18th century. An inn established at the ferry.

Invercauld, House Boat of

1. Invercauld, House Boat of or the Ladies Boat.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee. 1 mile below Alltdourie Cottage Boat.
4. NO 1791.
5. Crathie 8. Braemar 2.
8. 1715.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Proprietors of Invercauld estate.
14. Local inhabitants. Troops.

Inverchandlick

1. Inverchandlick.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee. 1 mile above Alltdourie Cottage Boat.
4. NO 1492.
5. Crathie 9. Braemar 1.
8. 19th century.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. Proprietors of Invercauld estate.
14. Local inhabitants.

Inverdrue

1. Inverdrue.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NH 8910.
5. Aviemore 1. Grantown 28. Kingussie 11.
8. 1840s.
14. Local inhabitants. "Floaters", i.e. men who floated logs
down rivers Druie and Spey from Rothiemurchus forests.

Inverdunning, Boat of

1. Inverdunning, Boat of.
2. Tayside.
3. River Earn.
4. NO 0217.
5. Auchterarder 5. Dunning 4.
8. 1734.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Lord Rollo of Duncrub.
14. Local inhabitants.

Invergordon

1. Invergordon.
2. Highland.
3. Firth of Cromarty. Balblair or Inverbreakie $\frac{3}{4}$. Cromarty 5.
4. NH 7068.
5. Bonar Bridge 20. Dingwall 12.
8. 1570.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods. Animals. Mail.
15. 1818. Estimate for building piers £1,000.
1819. Amount received from government under the Scottish

Harbours Act	£616. 18. 11d.
Total cost of piers	£1,638. 0s. 0d.
- 1840s. An inn established at ferry.

Inverkeithing

1. Inverkeithing.
2. Fife.
3. Firth of Forth.
4. NT 1482.
5. Dunfermline 4. Kirkcaldy 13.
7. 17th century. Superseded by ferry at North Queensferry.
8. 1163.
14. Royalty. Churchmen. Travellers. Local inhabitants. Goods.
Animals.
15. 1153. Inverkeithing mentioned as burgh.

Inverkip

1. Inverkip.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Dunoon $3\frac{1}{4}$.
4. NS 2072.
5. Greenock 7. Largs 8.
8. 1618.
9. Number of boats unknown.
10. Open boats.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Animals, often cattle. Goods.

Invermay

1. Invermay.
2. Tayside.
3. Water of May.
4. NO 0616.
5. Auchterarder 9. Perth 6.
8. 1734.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.

Inveruglas

1. Inveruglas.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Lomond. Inversnaid 1.
4. NN 3109.
5. Arrochar 6. Luss 11.
8. 1720s.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
12. Two ferrymen. Boys aged 14 and 16.
14. Foot passengers.
15. No quay for ferry boat.

Ferrymen carry travellers on their backs to a sandbank to disembark.

1829. Travellers intent on climbing Ben Lomond used this ferry.

Inverurie, Boat of

1. Inverurie, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Don.
4. NJ 7720.
5. Aberdeen 17. Huntley 23. Oldmeldrum 5.
7. 1791. Replaced by a bridge costing £2,000.
8. 1747.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1195. Inverurie mentioned as burgh.
A ford nearby ferry passage.

Iona

1. Iona.
2. Island of Iona.
3. Sound of Iona. Fionnphort (Island of Mull).
4. NM 2824.
5. No nominated villages on island of Iona.
8. From 7th century.
9. One.
10. Until 20th century. Rowing boat. In 1790s "a clumsy open
coble rowed by four unskilled boatmen".
20th century. Motor boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Pilgrims. Goods.

Irvine

1. Irvine.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Irvine.
4. NS 3138.
5. Ayr 14. Glasgow 26. Kilmarnock 7.
7. 1746. Replaced by bridge.
8. 1703.
11. 18th century. Irvine Town Council.
12. 1703. Adam Baird.
1722. Thomas Wallace.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1703. Town Council paid £12 Scots towards furnishing a
ferry boat.
1722. Town Council paid £12 Scots to the ferryman for the
upkeep of boats.
1724. Bridge proposed. Estimated cost £500 sterling.

Islandurinish

1. Islandurinish.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Etive. Bonawe 1.
4. NN 0132.
5. Ardchattan 4. North Connel 7.
8. 1681.
9. Two.
10. Large rowing boat with sail. Small rowing boat.
11. The Campbells of Bonawe.
13.)
14.) See Bonawe.
15.)

John o' Groats

1. John o' Groats.
2. Highland.
3. Pentland Firth. Burwick (on South Ronaldsay), 10.
4. ND 3873.
5. Inverness 142. Thurso 20. Wick 17.
8. Early 1500s.
11. 1500s. Ferry proprietor said to be John de Groot, a Dutchman.
12. Early 1500s. John de Groot.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Animals. Goods.
15. 1509. John de Groot or Groat arrived in Caithness with his brothers. They bore letters from James IV recommending them to the gentlemen of the county. They bought land and settled.

To settle a family dispute between the 8 brothers, concerning inequality of status, John de Groot had to build an octagonal building including 8 doors, 8 windows and furnished it with an 8-sided table. This perfect equality between the 8 was a satisfactory solution.

Keil

1. Keil (Lochaline).
2. Highland (Morvern).
3. Sound of Mull. Bailemeonach (Island of Mull) 2½.
4. NM 6744.
5. Kinlochaline 2.
8. 1790s.
9. Two.
10. Large rowing boat with sail for cattle. Smaller rowing boat for passengers.
11. Duke of Argyll.
12. 1834. 4 men in constant attendance at the ferry.
4 men available in immediate vicinity of ferry.
13. 1829. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	1/-
More than 1 passenger	6d.(each)
1 Bull	2/-
1 Cow, stot, heifer above 1 year old	6d.(each)
1 Man, 1 Horse	1/6d.
2 Horses	1/-(each)
1 Score sheep, weddars	2/6d.
1 Score lambs	1/6d.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Black cattle. Horses.
Sheep. Goods. Mail.
15. 1800s. Mail transported once per week.
1829. Boundary of ferry determined by Mull District Road
Trustees to be: "from Lochaline village to the Water of Salachan".
Keil replaced by Lochaline as the ferry location.
Subsequently Lochaline became the only ferry location in that area and the ferry boat plied between Lochaline and Fishnish.

Keils or Keill or Keills or Keillmore

1. Keils or Keill or Keills or Keillmore.
2. Highland.
3. Sound of Jura. Lagg 7.
4. NR 6880.
5. Lochgilphead 18.
8. 1764.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Open boat(s) propelled by sail, with oars.
1840s. Boat description; "The boat was of great width of beam and the cattle were fastened with their heads to rings on the gunwale on each side".
13. 1767. Regulation that cattle now stand in ferry boat.
Charge; 1 beast 1/-, "with whisky to ferrymen as formerly".
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Black cattle. Other animals. Kelp. Goods. Mail.
15. 1764. Proposal to remove the ferry location from Keils to Barnashullig.
1767. Another proposal: to remove the ferry locations of Aird and Kinnachdrach and instead develop the ferry between Keils and Lagg to accommodate the increasing cattle traffic from the islands of Colonsay, Islay and Jura.
1776. "People of Keils, Barinloch and Coshindrochard to repair the quay at the ferry of Keils".
1781. Repairing quay and landing place, 30/-.
1782. Sub-committee of Jura Road Trustees appointed to estimate cost of repairing the quay.
1782-1787. No statute labour performed on the quays. Consequently quays in neglected and dangerous state.
1787. It was decided by Jura Road Trustee Committee that:
 1. In future statute labour must be performed or money paid in lieu.
 2. Parish of North Knapdale to allocate a proportion of its funds for the quay and ferry place of Keils.
 3. Mr. MacNeill and Lieutenant McTavish must account for the £14 sterling they received.

15 contd.

1807. The quay again in a "poor state". Argument that unless the quay be "kept in proper repair it is impossible to preserve the ferry boats".
1817. Estimated cost of repairs at this ferry £200 sterling.
Government grant £100.
Expected from District funds, £100.
1821. Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges allocated £64. 18. 7d. towards the construction of a quay.
1833. Mail transported 3 times per week.

Keithhall, Boat of

1. Keithhall, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. Water of Ury.
4. NJ 7821.
5. Aberdeen $17\frac{1}{2}$. Inverurie $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. 1809. Replaced by a bridge.
8. 1747.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants.

Kelso

1. Kelso.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 7233.
5. Berwick-on-Tweed 24. Edinburgh 43. Jedburgh 11.
7. 1756. Replaced by bridge costing £3,000.
11. Kelso Burgh Council.
15. 1237. Kelso mentioned as a burgh.
 1749. Burgh Council Act "for laying a Duty of 2 pennies Scots or 1/6 part of a Penny Sterling upon every Scots Pint of Ale, Porter or Beer which shall be brewed for Sale, brought into, tapped or sold, within the Town of Kelso in the Shire of Roxburgh, for finishing a Bridge cross the River Tweed and for other purposes therein mentioned".
 1797. Bridge destroyed by flood.
 1803. New bridge built. Designed by Telford. Cost £17,802.

Kemnay, Boat of

1. Kemnay, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Don.
4. NJ 7216.
5. Aberdeen 18. Kintore 4.
8. 1734.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Local inhabitants. Members of Kemnay parish church.

Kenmore

1. Kenmore.
 2. Tayside.
 3. River Tay.
 4. NN 7745.
 5. Aberfeldy 6. Crieff 22. Killin 17.
 7. 1774. Replaced by bridge.
 8. 1681.
 9. One.
 10. Coble.
 14. Local inhabitants. Soldiers. Goods.
 15. Ferryman's house beside ferry, used as an inn.
1681. Privy Council ordered boat to be "putt under securitie
and caution" for military reasons.
1694. Kenmore erected burgh of barony.

Kennerty.

1. Kennerty.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 8398.
5. Durris 4. Peterculter 2.
8. 16th century.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants, particularly those connected with the
old Culter church which was demolished in 1782.

Keoldale

1. Keoldale.
2. Highland.
3. Kyle of Durness 1.
4. NC 3766.
5. Cape Wrath 13. Tongue 20.
8. 1852.
9. One.
10. Open sailing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. Landing place on west shore only a slipway.

Ferry known as Durness ferry but ferry location at Keoldale, 1 mile from Durness.

The ferry boat capable of transporting a dog cart but not a carriage.

Kerrycroy

1. Kerrycroy.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Largs 8.
4. NS 1061.
5. Rothesay 3 (on island of Bute).
8. 1830.
12. 1830. John Bannatyne.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1830. John Bannatyne, ferryman, applied for license to sell
exciseable liquors.

Kersie

1. Kersie.
 2. Central.
 3. River Forth. Kersie Mains.
 4. NS 8791.
 5. South Alloa $2\frac{1}{2}$. Stirling 4.
 8. 1791.
 9. One.
 10. Pinnace.
 11. 1791. Sir John Francis Erskine.
 14. Local inhabitants. Horses. Carriages.
 15. 1643. West Kerse erected burgh of barony.
1791. Landing quays built on each side of river financed
by Sir John Erskine.

Kessock, North

1. Kessock, North.
2. Highland.
3. Moray Firth. South Kessock 1.
4. NH 6547.
5. Dingwall 12. Fortrose 14.
8. 1437.
9. Number of sailing boats unknown.
1820s. One steam boat.
10. Open sailing boats.
1820s. Steam boat.
11. Prior to 1437. Alexander, Earl of Ross.
1437. Dominican Priory of Inverness.
1591. Right of ferry granted to Burgh of Inverness by James VI.
1748. Earl of Seaforth.
1795. Grant of Redcastle.
1825. Sir William Fettes.
14. Local inhabitants. Officials. Travellers. Soldiers. Animals.
Vehicles. Freight.
15. 1791. Rent for ferry £128 sterling per annum.
1794. Grant of Redcastle, proprietor of ferry, proposed to build pier, inn and stables.
1799-1800. Complaint that "boats are scarcely large enough to convey carriages and horses which are frequently obliged to pass."
1800. Proposal for greater financial support for the maintenance of the ferry: £13,000 to be divided into 26 equal parts and each subscriber will execute a bond to the bank for £500 "for which sum and no more he becomes responsible and he has for his security to pay the interest and reduce the principal the tolls and dues of the Ferry".
This proposal was never implemented.
1819. Southey commented, "It is the best ferry in Scotland but the best ferry is a bad thing. They have no good means of getting carriages on board and there was considerable difficulty with one of the horses."
1821. /

15 contd.

1821. Officers of Excise secured 3 horses carrying 6 ankers of smuggled whisky.
1828. New inn completed. New pier built. Steam boat employed on trial basis.
- Ferry rent £800 per annum, an increase of £650 since 1791.
1829. Steam boat withdrawn due to silt at landing places.
1834. Ferry regarded as "one of the safest ferries in the north".
1846. Ferryman and horse drowned.

Kessock, South

1. Kessock, South.
2. Highland.
3. Moray Firth. North Kessock.
4. NH 6547.
5. Inverness $\frac{1}{2}$.
8. 1437.
9. Number of sailing boats unknown.
1820s. One steam boat.
10. Open sailing boats.
1820s. Steam boat.
11. Prior to 1437. Alexander, Earl of Ross.
1437. Dominican Priory of Inverness.
1591. Right of ferry granted to Burgh of Inverness by James VI.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Soldiers. Animals. Vehicles.
Freight.
15. 1811. Fair day at Inverness. Twenty or more women required to
be ferried to North Kessock. Ferry boat stuck in mud as
it was low tide. Would not float for two hours. Women
ranged themselves round boat and were lifted bodily into
water to be ferried across.

Kilchoan

1. Kilchoan.
2. Highland. Ardnamurchan.
3. Little Minch. Castlebay (Island of Barra) 30, Lochboisdale (Island of South Uist) 40, Lochmaddy (Island of North Uist) 50.
4. NM 4963.
5. Salen 16.
8. 1730s.
14. Local inhabitants. Drovers. Animals, particularly black cattle. Goods.
15. 1730. Cattle market held at Strontian. Cattle from Outer Isles landed at Kilchoan on the way to Strontian.

Killbeg

1. Killbeg.
2. Central.
3. River Forth.
4. NS 6596.
5. Kippen 3. Stirling 10.
8. 1724.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Goods.
15. 1724. Village of Thornhill, 4 miles north of ferry,
held a weekly market and 4 fairs annually.

Killundine

1. Killundine.
2. Highland. Morvern.
3. Sound of Mull. Ardnacross (Island of Mull) 2.
4. NM 5749.
5. Lochaline Village 10.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Animals. Goods.

Kilmichael

1. Kilmichael.
 2. Strathclyde.
 3. Kyle of Bute. Auchenlochan 2. Blair's Ferry 1.
 4. NR 9970.
 5. Rothesay 12.
 8. 1410.
 9. One.
 10. Rowing boat with a sail.
 12. 1830 . Robert Cameron.
 13. 1795. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	3d.
1 horse	9d.
 14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
 15. This ferry was a connecting link on the route from Rothesay to Campbeltown but was not so well used as the route by Otter Ferry.
1830. Robert Cameron, ferryman, applied for licence to sell exciseable liquors.

Kilmun

1. Kilmun.
2. Strathclyde. Sandbank 1.
3. Holy Loch.
4. NS 1781.
5. Ardentinny 9. Benmore 3.
8. 15th century.
11. 15th century. Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow.
14. 15th century. Church officials (local church established in
15th century). Local inhabitants. Animals. Goods.
15. 1490. Kilmun erected burgh of barony.
1829. Stone quay built. Designed by David Napier.

Kilvichocharmaig

1. Kilvichocharmaig.
2. Highland.
3. Sound of Jura. Lagg 7.
4. NM 6744.
5. Kinlochaline $2\frac{1}{2}$. Keills $2\frac{1}{2}$.
8. 1763.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Open boat(s) propelled by sail, with oars.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Black cattle.
Other animals. Goods.
15. 1763. Commissioners of Supply Committee allocated £10 Sterling
to Mr. Duncanson for completing the quay at this ferry.
The tenants of "the two Keils and Barnalochan are
appointed to perform statute work for the current
year upon the Quay".
1764. James Duncanson requested a further £15 Sterling for
erecting the quay.

Kincardine o' Neil

1. Kincardine o' Neil.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 5999.
5. Banchory 7, Ballater 15.
8. 1681.
9. More than one.
10. Rowing boats.
11. From 1681. Earls of Aboyne.
13. Fare for single foot passenger 2d.
14. Local inhabitants. Drovers. Cattle.
15. Ford sited 300 yards up river, called Cochrane's Ford.

Ferry house, also an inn, on south side.

1811. Report by Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges recommended the erection of a bridge as the ferry passage was frequently blocked by ice in winter. Ferry continued to function in 20th century because no bridge yet built.

Kincarrathie

1. Kincarrathie.
2. Tayside. Muirtown haugh.
3. River Tay.
4. NO 1125.
5. Dunkeld 13. Perth 1.
6. 1536.
9. Three. 2 horse boats, 1 boat for foot passengers.
10. 2 Rowing boats, 1 coble.
11. 1536-1730s. The Lords of Stormont.
 1736-1766. David Stewart of Kincarrathie.
 1766. George Stewart of Kincarrathie.
12. 1736. Perth Town Council decreed that 40/- sterling be
 paid to the Council for the right of ferry.
14. Local inhabitants. Animals.
15. 1736. Dispute between Perth Town Council and David Stewart
 of Kincarrathie concerning the damage said to be done
 to the North Inch by the disembarking of animals at the
 ferry. Stewart resisted all efforts to prevent the
 continuation of the ferry service.
 1766. Dispute unresolved.
 George Stewart received £26 - £30 from ferry rates.
1772. The completion of Perth bridge reduced need for Kincarrathie
 ferry.

Kinchirdie or Kinchurdy

1. Kinchirdie or Kinchurdy.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NH 9315.
5. Aviemore 2. Grantown-on-Spey 13.
8. 1662.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. 1662. James Grant of Freughie.
1663. David Grant and Isobel Dunbar, his spouse, inherited
ferry with other lands from James Grant.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Kinclaven

1. Kinclaven.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay.
4. NO 1537.
5. Dunkeld 12. Perth 11. Stanley 3.
7. 1905. Ferry service ceased.
9. Prior to 1830. Three.
1830-1905. One.
10. Prior to 1830. Rowing boats. One for foot passengers, one for horses, one for carriages.
1830-1905. One chain operated boat. Length of chain 136 yards, boat two-hulled supporting an open-ended platform.
11. Dukes of Atholl.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Carts. Carriages.
Family and employees of Meiklour House.
15. 12th century castle at Kinclaven.

Kinfauns

1. Kinfauns.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay. Elcho on south bank of river Tay.
4. NO 1522.
5. Inchyra $2\frac{1}{2}$. Perth 4.
8. 1840s.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1840s. 2 steam boats also sail from Kinfauns. Ply daily in summer to Dundee. 1 steam boat plies daily in winter to Dundee.

Kingairloch or Camasnacroise

1. Kingairloch or Camasnacroise.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Linnhe. Port Appin 5. Portnacroish 5. Port Ramsay (Island of Lismore) 4.
4. NM 8453.
5. Ardgour 16. Fort William 26.
8. Prior to 1832.
9. Two.
10. Rowing boats with sails.
12. Only 1 ferryman employed but additional help available when necessary.
13. Prior to 1832. Rates for the ferry boat hire:

Port Appin	4/-
Portnacroish	4/-
Port Ramsay	3/6d.
1832. Rates to be charged: no change.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Kinghorn

1. Kinghorn.
2. Fife.
3. Firth of Forth. Leith 7. Newhaven 7.
4. NT 2787.
5. Inverkeithing 9. Kirkcaldy 4.
7. 1848. Regular ferry service replaced by railway ferry at Burntisland.
8. 1284.
9. Number unknown. Stated by President of Court of Session in 1684
 "Kinghorn having as many (boats) as they please".
 1791. Only a few boats.
 1820 onwards. One.
10. Prior to 1820. Pinnaces and yawls.
 1820 onwards. Steam boat.
11. 16th century. Kinghorn Town Council.
13. 1551. 1 single passenger 6d.
 1 Man and 1 Horse 12d.
1675. 1 single passenger 2d.
 1 Man and 1 Horse 6d.
1792. 1 single passenger 1d.
 1 Man and 1 Horse 2d.
1809. 1 single passenger in
 new boat 9/-
 1 Horse in new boat 5/3d.
- 1762 Fare for 1 single passenger on a Sunday 2/6d.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles. Freight. Mail.
15. 1165. Kinghorn mentioned as burgh.
1784. Report that passage had taken 2 hours to cross in
 "tolerably comfortable ferry boat which leaves
 regularly at certain hours".
1792. /

15 contd.

1792. Conflicting report that ferry boats were unreliable and infrequent.

1811. Fife Ferry Trustees allocated money to build new quay.

Numbers of passengers who used ferry:

19th July 1816 - 18th July 1817	36,600
19th July 1817 - 18th July 1818	36,699
19th July 1818 - 18th July 1819	41,729
19th July 1819 - 18th July 1820	38,953
<hr/>	
19th July 1820 - 18th July 1821 -	
Steamboat	30,875
Pinnaces, cutters	12,216
	<hr/>
Total	43,091
	<hr/>

1840. Report of regular and constant ferry service.

Kingussie

1. Kingussie.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NH 7599.
5. Grantown-on-Spey 27. Pitlochry 45.
7. 1745-1747. No ferry service due to loss of boat.
1849/50. Wooden bridge built.
8. 1745.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 18th and early 19th centuries. Dukes of Gordon.
14. Mainly soldiers garrisoned at Ruthven Barracks. Local inhabitants.
15. 1745. General Cope's soldiers burnt ferry boat.
1761. Letter from John McLean, tackman of Pitmain and Kingussie farms, to Catherine, Duchess of Gordon, petitioning for a bridge to replace the ferry and for financial support in renovating the inn at Ruthven. £100 was advanced by the Duchess but neither was bridge built nor inn renovated.
1765. Bridge built over river Spey at Spey Bridge. This removed the need for further consideration of a bridge at Kingussie.
1760s-1849. Gradual decline in use of ferry.

Kinloch Rannoch

1. Kinloch Rannoch.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tummel (approximately 300 yards below its efflux from Loch Rannoch).
4. NN 6758.
5. Aberfeldy 18. Pitlochry 20.
7. 1764. Replaced by bridge.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. School children. Soldiers.
15. 1681. Privy Council ordered boat to be "putt under securitie and good caution" for military reasons.
1757. James Small (factor) requested money for a ferry or bridge to facilitate the passage for children attending school in Kinloch. (In 1890, 3 schools accommodating 29, 80 and 29 children respectively).
1758. An allocation of £5 made.
1758. Barracks established at Kinloch Rannoch and Black Park on the river Tummel.

Traffic increased across the river Tummel.
1759. Commissioners for Annexed Estates allocated money for a new ferry boat to replace one which was "extremely dangerous".

Kinnaber

1. Kinnaber.
2. Tayside.
3. River North Esk. Marykirk.
4. NO 6865.
5. Montrose 6. Stonehaven 19.
8. 1748.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants, particularly workers in the Kinnaber Mills.

Kintore, Boat of

1. Kintore, Boat of.
2. Grampian.
3. River Don.
4. NJ 7916.
5. Aberdeen 13. Banchory 17. Inverurie 4.
8. 1747.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1187, Kintore mentioned as a burgh.

Kinuachdrach

1. Kinuachdrach.
2. Highland (Island of Jura).
3. Sound of Jura. Aird. 3½ Scalasaig (Island of Colonsay) 24. Colonsay) 24.
4. NR 7098.
5. Lagg 18.
8. 1749.
9. Number of boats unknown.
10. Large open sailing boats propelled by oars.
14. Local inhabitants. Drovers. Cattle. Goods.
15. 1749. Inhabitants of Jura, north of Ardlussa and of Scarba to repair quay at Kinuachdrach (statute labour).
1747. Inhabitants of Jura and Scarba to work on the quay at Kinuachdrach for 3 days. Other inhabitants of Belnuhea "to work, with their tools, under the inspection of Duncan Campbell of Lochhead and Robert Stevenson of Belnuhea."
1767. Petition by James Campbell of Craignish and Duncan Campbell of Glendaruel to promote the ferry between Lagg (on Jura) and Keil (in Morvern) as the main ferry for transporting cattle brought from Colonsay, Islay and Jura. As a result the Kinuachdrach to Aird ferry would fall into disuse.

This petition was agreed with the resultant decline of the Kinuachdrach to Aird ferry.

Kirkcaldy

1. Kirkcaldy.
2. Fife.
3. Firth of Forth. Leith 10. Newhaven 9.
4. NT 2891.
5. Burntisland 9. Dunfermline 14.
7. 1848. Regular ferry service replaced by railway ferry at Burntisland.
8. 1334.
9. 1684. 4 boats authorised.
1760. 2 large boats. 4 boats.
1815. At least 13 boats used, 10 large and 4 smaller.
1815-1840s. Three.
10. Pinnaces, large boats.
1813. Names:

Large Boats:	The Providence	Pinnaces:	General Ferguson
	Active		Prince of Orange
	Jane		Swift
			Arrow
			Sailors' Pinnacle
			Jolly Tars
1760. Large boat weighed 30 tons.
- 1820s. 3 Steam boats.
- After 1825. Steam boat.
11. 1334. David II granted ferry rights to Abbot of Dunfermline.
1450. Abbot disposed ferry rights to magistrates and bailies of Kirkcaldy.
12. 1684. 3 ferryman nominated by Kirkcaldy Town Council, 4th ferryman to be decided between David Williamson and Alexander Simpson by the throw of a die. David Williamson won.
13. 1481, 1483, 1551. Acts regulating fares at Kirkcaldy.

1813-1818.	Single passenger	1/-d.
1818-1830s.	Single passenger	1/6d.
1830s.	1st class	2/6d.
	2nd class	1/6d.
1425. /

13 contd.

1425. Act. Each ferry boat required to incorporate "a treene brigg" to facilitate embarking and disembarking of horses.

1467, 1475. Further acts passed to attempt to enforce the provision of "briggess".

1684. Kirkcaldy limited to the employment of 4 ferry boats due to previous lack of supervision and investment resulting in unsafe boats and unreliable service.

1687. Ferrymen charging excessive fares to be prosecuted.

1820-1821. Kirkcaldy Town Council granted license for 3 steam ferry boats to London, Leith, Edinburgh and Glasgow Shipping Company. Annual rent for license 150 guineas.

1821-1828. Further license granted for 3 steam boats to Shipping Company. Annual rent £200.

1830s. Annual rent raised to £400 for license to ferry.

1840s. In summer 8 ferry crossings per day.

In winter 6 ferry crossings per day.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Officials. Animals. Vehicles. Freight. Mail.

15. 1644. Kirkcaldy erected a royal burgh.

1697. David Williamson prosecuted. His boat's "rudder and yairds" removed. Boat remained in custody until fine paid to repossess it.

1815. Case brought against Kirkcaldy Town Council by Town Council of Kinghorn and Burntisland to try to ensure Kirkcaldy was again limited to the use of 4 ferry boats instead of the 13 operating. Case not proven.

Kirn

1. Kirn.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Cloch $1\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NS 1878.
5. Inveraray 38. Dunoon 1.
8. Prior to 1777.
9. Number of boats unknown.
10. Open boats.
11. 18th and 19th centuries. Campbells of Glendaruel.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Animals, mainly cattle. Goods.
15. 1813. Campbell of Glendaruel v Campbell of Ballochyle.
Petition to remove ferry location from Dunoon to Kirn.
Petition rejected. Kirn lost ferry traffic.

Knock

1. Knock.
2. Highland (Morvern).
3. Sound of Mull. Fishnish (Island of Mull) 2.
4. NM 6846.
5. Lochaline village 4.
8. 1790s.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Black cattle. Other animals.
Goods.
15. This ferry known to transport cattle being exported both from
Fishnish to Knock and from Knock to Fishnish.

Local cattle sales held in Morvern before the sales held at
Salen in Mull. These cattle were then routed to Kerrera and
finally to Lorn on the mainland.

1829. Knock, and also Keils, were replaced by Lochaline as
the only ferry location in that area. Subsequently,
the ferry plied between Lochaline and Fishnish.

Kyleakin

1. Kyleakin.
2. Highland.
3. Kyle of Lochalsh. Kyle of Loch Alsh.
4. NG 7526.
5. Broadford 8.
8. 1570.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Large, flat-bottomed, open rowing boat(s).
(Late 19th and 20th centuries, motorised boats).

13. 1820. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	6d.
3 or more passengers	2d. (each)
1 horse and rider	1/-
Each horse, when number exceeds one	6d. (each)
4 wheeled carriage, 2 horses	5/-
2 wheeled carriage, 2 horses, driver	2/6d.
1 loaded cart and horse	2/-
1 empty cart and horse	1/-
All black cattle when the number is less than 6	4d. (each)
Any number of black cattle above 6	3d. (each)
Lambs	$\frac{1}{2}$ d. (each)

Until 1824. Ferryman paid £3 per annum for transporting mail
3 times per week.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders. Black cattle.
Horses. Sheep. Vehicles. Goods. Mail.
 15. 1840. Cockburn recorded that "this ferry is ill provided with a
boat and machinery for carriages, but hands, and the hope
of whisky, did the business".
- 1840s. An inn established at this ferry.

Kyle of Loch Alsh

1. Kyle of Loch Alsh.
2. Highland.
3. Kyle of Loch Alsh. Kyleakin.
4. NG 7526.
5. Dingwall 69. Fort William 75.
8. 1570.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Large, flat-bottomed, open rowing boat(s).
(Late 19th and early 20th centuries, motorised boats).

13. 1820. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	6d.
3 or more passengers	2d. (each)
1 horse and rider	1/-
Each horse when number exceeds one	6d. (each)
Four wheeled carriage, 2 horses	5/-
Two wheeled carriage, 2 horses, driver	2/6d.
1 loaded cart and horse	2/-
1 empty cart and horse	1/-
All black cattle when number is less than six	4d. (each)
Any number of black cattle above six	3d. (each)
Lambs	$\frac{1}{2}$ d. (each)

Until 1824. Ferrymen paid £3 per annum for transporting mail
3 times per week.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders. Black cattle.
Horses. Sheep. Vehicles. Goods. Mail.
15. 1840s. Inn established at this ferry.
(1893. Railway terminal built which greatly extended the use
of this ferry. The direction of the bulk of the traffic
was reversed.)

Kylerhea

1. Kylerhea.
2. Highland (Island of Skye).
3. Kyle Rhea. Glenelg. $\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NG 7821.
5. Kyleakin (on island of Skye) 17.
6. 1716.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Large, flat-bottomed, open rowing boat(s).
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Soldiers. Black cattle. Other animals. Goods.
15. 1716. The channel between Kylerhea and Glenelg so narrow that "one may call for the ferry boat and easily be heard on the other side".
1726. Defoe estimated that 300 to 400 cattle swim across in a few hours.
1772. Pennant stated 4,000 cattle were taken annually across at this ferry.
1786. Knox described the transport of horses: "When horses are to be taken over they are pushed off the rock into the water. A small boat with 5 men attends, 4 of them holding the alters of a pair of them (horses) on each side of the boat".
1808. Agricultural Survey of Inverness-shire described method of transporting cattle at this ferry; "For this purpose the drovers purchased ropes which are cut into lengths of 3 feet having a noose at each end. This noose is put round the under-jaw of every cow, taking care to leave the tongue free. The reason given for leaving the tongue loose is that the animal may keep the salt water from going down its throat in such a quantity as to fill all the cavities of the body, which would prevent the action of the lungs. Each cow was tied to the tail of the cow in front, forming a string of 6 or 8; and a man in the stern held the rope of the foremost cow".
1811. /

15 contd.

1811. Telford reported "Kylarhea would always remain the usual ferry for the Black cattle of Skye."
1821. New quay built.
Commissioners for Annexed Estates allocated £572. 16. 3d.
1840. Inn "affording pretty good accommodation".
1841. Cockburn recorded that although "this ferry (was) boasted as the best in Skye" it was "detestable, at least for carriages, and as ill-conducted as possible". He added, "But what can a ferry be for carriages, where ours is only the third that has passed this year, and the object of the landlord of the ferry house on each side is to detain instead of advancing the passenger, and where, when at last it is seen that they can carry it no longer, the only machinery for putting the vehicle on board consists of dozens of lazy and very awkward Highlanders, all scolding in Erse, who almost lift it and throw it into the groaning boat".

Kylesku

1. Kylesku.
2. Highland.
3. Loch a' Chairn Bhàin. Kylestrome.
4. NC 2334.
5. Lairg 38. Ledmore Junction 14.
8. 1850.
9. One.
10. Open boat.
13. Late 19th and early 20th centuries. Ferry free.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1850. Known as a "well-regulated ferry",
Small inn at the ferry on the south side.

Ladykirk

1. Ladykirk, commonly called Bate's Boat.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 8847.
5. Coldstream 6. Berwick-on-Tweed 10.
7. 1839. Replaced by wooden bridge on stone piers.
8. 1720s.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Members of Ladykirk Parish Church. Coal from Northumberland.

Lagg

1. Lagg.
2. Island of Jura.
3. Sound of Jura. Keils or Keillmore. 7
Kilvochocharmaig 7.
4. NR 5978.
5. Tarbert 4.
8. 1763.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Open boat(s) propelled by sail, with oars.
1840s. Boat description; "The boat was of great width of beam and the cattle were fastened with their heads to rings on the gunwale on each side".
12. 1767. Ferryman's wages were one third more than in 1752.
13. 1767. Regulation that cattle now stand in ferry boat.
Charge; 1 beast 1/- "With whisky
to ferryman as formerly".
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Black cattle.
Other animals. Kelp. Goods. Mail.
15. 1764. Proposal to remove the ferry location from Lagg to Ardlussa.
1767. Another proposal: to remove the ferry locations of Kinuachdrach and Aird and instead develop the ferry between Lagg and Keils to accommodate the increasing cattle traffic from the islands of Colonsay, Islay and Jura.
1815. Repair of quay which had been constructed on a sand bank and was dangerous.
The following instructions given;
"There shall be laid a short piling of fir timber of about 3 feet in length and 3 inches thick, grooved and feathered and drove-close to each other from the first external angle to end round the circular head to the stairs. A set of fir timber 8 feet by 6 feet shall be laid, to which the head of the piles shall be fastened by spikes. This must be at least 2 feet below the level of the bank and on this wall /

15 contd.

wall must be founded with large broad bedded stones. Further walls shall be built as described in the plan. They shall also be built in regular courses without mortar, the outside or place shall be hammer dressed, the beds being made over and laid at right angles from the face of the wall. The stones must be fastened together with iron cramps, not less than 3 lbs. each".

1833. Mail transported 3 times per week.

Lairg

1. Lairg.
2. Highland.
3. River Shin.
4. NC 5804.
5. Dornoch 22. Inverness 59.
8. 1852.
9. One.
10. A coble.
14. Foot passengers.
15. Fording the river possible but also "piers" for coble.

Lakersaig, Port-na-

1. Lakersaig, Port-na-.
2. Island of Jura.
3. Gulf of Corryvreckan. Island of Scarba 1.
4. NM 7000 (approximately).
5. Kinuachdrach 3.
8. 1748.
14. Local inhabitants. Goods.
15. 1748. Inhabitants of "upper end of Jura beyond Tarbert and the Island of Scarba to work on the quay of Port-na-Lakersaig...".

Lampits

1. Lampits.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde at Pettinain.
4. NS 9645.
5. Carnwath 2. Carstairs 3. Lanark 7.
6. 1830s.
8. 1845.
9. One.
10. Chain propelled float. Cost, approximately £500.
11. 1830s. Sir Charles Macdonald Lockhart, Bart.

Colonel Anstruther of Carstairs.

12. Boat operated by a boy.
13. "A small sum is extracted".
14. Foot passengers. Carriages. Carts. Cattle. Lime. Coal.
15. 1451. Neighbouring village of Carnwath erected burgh of barony.

River fordable but subject to extensive flooding.

Boat has increased "comfort and accommodation of the inhabitants of both sides, as well as of the country in general".

Ferry named Lampits after adjacent farm on Carnwath side of river.

Langholm

1. Langholm.
2. Dumfries and Galloway.
3. Ewes Water.
4. NY 3685.
5. Dumfries 31. Hawick 24.
7. 1700. Replaced by a bridge.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1726. Water passage called "the boat ford".
Used "in former times" to go to Langholm town.

Langlands (Wilton Park)

1. Langlands (Wilton Park).
2. Borders.
3. River Teviot.
4. NT 4914.
5. Hawick $\frac{1}{2}$. Jedburgh 14. Selkirk 12.
7. 1741. Replaced by bridge.
8. 1691.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. The Langland family.
12. 1691. William Scott.
14. Local inhabitants. Family, employees of Langland family.
15. 1691. William Scott, boatman at Langlands "admitt and creat a
burgess".

Largo

1. Largo.
2. Fife.
3. Forth estuary. Newhaven 18.
4. NO 4202.
5. Elie 8. Kirkcaldy 13.
8. 1850.
9. One.
10. Steam boat.
13. Boat plied twice daily in summer, once daily in winter.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Freight.

Leith

1. Leith.
2. Lothian.
3. Firth of Forth. Aberdour 8. Burntisland 6. Dysart 10.
 Kirkcaldy 10. Kingshorn 7. Pettycur 8.
4. NT 2776.
5. Edinburgh 2.
8. 1608.
10. Prior to 1820. Pinnaces, yawls.
 After 1820. Steam boats.
11. 18th and 19th centuries. Leith Town Council.
13. 1608. Privy Council temporarily stopped the ferry service to
 Burntisland to prevent the spread of plague.
 1622. Ruling issued to ferrymen that "Nane shall committ ony
 violence or insolence within the harborie of Leythe nor
 within the Firthe".
 1678-1680. Privy Council decreed that "strict notice be taken
 of all persons passing the ferie at Leith and examine them,
 and, if they cannot give ane account of their lawfyl affaires,
 to imprison them and report their names to the Council".
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Officials. Animals. Vehicles.
 Freight. Mail.

Leny

1. Leny.
2. Central.
3. River Teith.
4. NN 6107.
5. Balquhiddar 10. Callander 1.
8. 1748.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Members of Leny parish church. Family
and employees of Leny house.
15. Ford adjacent to ferry passage.

Lesmahagow

1. Lesmahagow.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Nethan.
4. NS 8139.
5. Glasgow 22. Hamilton 11. Lanark 6.
8. 1666.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Troops. Coal.
15. 1666. Ferry boat "dround or broken" by fleeing Covenanters
to delay the pursuing government troops.
1668. Lesmahagow erected burgh of barony.

Leven, Loch

1. Leven, Loch . Kinross (Pier).
2. Fife.
3. Loch Leven. Loch Leven castle situated on an island in the loch.
4. NO 1302.
8. 1568.
9. One.
10. Until 20th century, rowing boat.
Middle and late 20th century, small motor boat.
11. Until 1664. The Monastery of Dunfermline.
1664. Jean Shaw.
14. Local inhabitants. Inhabitants of castle (when it functioned).
Goods.
15. 1568. Mary, Queen of Scots, who had been imprisoned in Loch Leven castle, escaped.
1664. To Jean Shaw "the boat on the Loch of heaven, formerly belonging to the Monastery of Dunfermline, commonly called the boat of Abbot Ninian Sym, with all privileges and profits".

Liddesdale

1. Liddesdale.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Sunart. Strontian.
4. NM 7759.
5. Kingairloch or Camasnacroise 14. Lochaline 15.
6. 1749.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat with sail.
11. Donald Campbell of Airds.
14. Local inhabitants (Passengers only).
15. 1749. Alexander MacLauchlan, a merchant in Liddesdale proposed
establishing this ferry.
1803. Postal service used this ferry.

Lindores

1. Lindores.
2. Tayside.
3. Firth of Tay. Errol $2\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NO 3019.
5. Cupar 9. Newburgh 1.
8. 1748.
9. Two.
10. Pinnaces.
11. 1748. Sir Alexander Anstruther of Newark.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Animals. Goods.

Little Ferry

1. Little Ferry.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Fleet.
4. NH 8095.
5. Golspie 3. Lairg 19.
8. 1570.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
12. 4 ferrymen employed.
13. Boat stationed at east side.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1746. Lord Cromarty and his men attacked by Sutherland men.

The Earl and his officers retreated to Dunrobin Castle.

The men sought escape at the ferry. One boat could not accommodate the numbers and began to sink. Men in boat cut off fingers of those clinging to the sides. Several men drowned.

1746. Lord Macleod captured at ferry.

1769. Pennant rated this ferry as dangerous especially when transporting horses.

1791. Frequent complaints regarding poor management of ferry.

1802. In order to establish a daily postal service between Dornoch and Wick £5 was paid to meet expenses at ferries of Little Ferry and Helmsdale.

Livingston, Boat of

1. Livingston, Boat of.
2. Dumfries and Galloway.
3. River Dee.
4. NS 7167.
5. Castle Douglas 4. New Galloway 10.
7. 1868. Replaced by bridge.
8. 1791.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Lochawe

1. Lochawe.
 2. Highland.
 3. River Awe.
 4. NN 1227.
 5. Connel 27. Dalmally 4.
 7. Approximately 1756. Replaced by bridge.
 9. Number unknown.
 10. Rowing boat(s).
 11. 18th century. McDonachie, laird of Inverawe, "alias Campbell".
 14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Cattle. Goods.
 15. 1308. A skirmish took place between Robert I and John Macdougall of Lorn. Macdougall's men were said to escape across a bridge over the river Awe. The bridge, constructed of wood, later disintegrated to be replaced by a ferry.
- 1747-1755. Map drawn by General Roy indicates ferry.
- 1750s. Cattle droves increased in size and frequency.
- Approximately 1756. Bridge built simultaneously with bridge over River Urchay, Cost of erecting both bridges only £1,000. Money obtained from Duke of Argyll, Lord Breadalbane and other heritors.

Lochboisdale

1. Lochboisdale.
2. Island of South Uist.
3. The Little Minch. Eynort (Island of Skye) 38.
Kilchoan (Ardnamurchan) 100.
4. NF 7919.
5. Daliburgh (Island of South Uist) 2.
8. 1790s.
9. Number unknown until 1840s.
1840s. Four.
10. Boats for transporting cattle. Could be between 10 and 15 tons.
1840s. "Decked vessels of small burthen".
12. Number of crew, 4 or 5 men.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Black cattle.
Other animals. Goods. Kelp.

Lochgilphead

1. Lochgilphead.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Gilp. Glasgow. 50.
4. NR 8687.
5. Glasgow 83. Oban 37.
8. 1410.
9. Number unknown.
10. 19th century. Steam boats.
13. In summer 3 steam vessels arrived and departed daily.
In winter at least one arrival and departure.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Merchants. Animals. Vehicles.
Freight.

Lochmaddy

1. Lochmaddy.
2. Island of North Uist.
3. The Little Minch. Dunvegan (Island of Skye) 27.
Kilchoan (Ardnamurchan) 100.
4. NF 9168.
5. Carinish (on the island of North Uist) 7.
8. 1720s.
9. Number unknown.
10. 1790s. Boats for transporting cattle could be between 10 and 50 tons.
13. 1798. Cost of carrying mail £72. 17. 0d. per annum.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders. Black cattle.
Other animals. Goods. Mail. Kelp.
15. 1798. Local proprietors in North Uist subscribed to establish a boat to carry mail between Lochmaddy and Dunvegan.
Boat sailed twice weekly. This continued until the 1850s.
- 1790s to 1820s. This was the main ferry for transporting black cattle from the Outer Hebrides.

Logierait, Boat of

1. Logierait, Boat of.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay just above influx of River Tummel.
4. NN 9752.
5. Aberfeldy 9. Dunkeld 8.
7. 1888. Replaced by iron bridge.
9. One.
10. Until 1824 a rowing boat.
1824. Chain operated boat.
11. Dukes of Atholl.
12. Ferryman required to propel boat from standing position to
counter the strength of current.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 15th and 16th century. Seat of court of regality.
1671. Logierait erected burgh of regality.
1717. Prince Charles Edward Stewart confined 600 prisoners
in court house.

Lorn

1. Lorn.
2. Highland.
3. Sound of Kerrera. Croggan (Island of Mull) 10 sea miles.
Ardmore (Island of Kerrera) $\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NM 8429 (approximately).
5. Oban 3.
7. 19th century. Superseded by steam boats which used Oban
as a ferry location.
8. 1622.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Black cattle.
Other animals. Goods.

Luss

1. Luss.
 2. Strathclyde.
 3. Loch Lomond. Rowardennan 3.
 4. NS 3692.
 5. Dumbarton 15. Tarbet 8.
 8. 1625.
 11. 1600s. Sir Alexander Colquhoun of Luss.
 14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
 15. 1642. Luss erected burgh of barony.
- 18th century. Inn established at the ferry.

Lyon, Loch

1. Lyon, Loch.
2. Tayside.
3. Loch Lyon.
4. NN 4141.
5. Benvannoch 2.
8. 1681.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1681. Privy Council ordered boat(s) to be "putt under securitie and good caution" for military reasons.

MacDougall's Boat

1. MacDougall's Boat.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee. West of Braemar.
4. NO 1290.
5. Braemar 1. Inverey 3.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Coble.
11. Earls of Mar.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. Allanmore ford adjacent to ferry.

Meigle

1. Meigle.
2. Tayside.
3. River Isla.
4. NO 2745.
5. Alyth 3. Coupar Angus 5.
8. 1791.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1608. Meigle erected burgh of barony.
1791. Attempts made to raise £800 to build bridge.
These attempts failed.

Meikle

1. Meikle.
2. Highland.
3. Dornoch Firth. $1\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NH 7385.
5. Tain 4 (East).
8. 1560.
9. 18th and 19th centuries, two.
10. 18th and 19th centuries, a wherry for transporting carriages, horses and cattle: a yawl for foot passengers.
1830s. Condition of boats poor: thole pins for the oars missing, sails torn, ropes frayed, rudder unreliable.
12. 1800s. 3 generations of the family of Patience.
13. The ferrymen provided with "a dram" as additional remuneration.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Soldiers. Animals. Goods.
Mail.
15. 1560. Ferry mentioned in charter from Alexander Ross of Balnagown in favour of Donald Dingwall, natural son of Alexander Dingwall prebendary chaplain of Cambuscurrie.
1715. Earl of Sutherland crossed this ferry during Jacobite uprising.
1746. Lord Loudon used this ferry to transfer his men in the second Jacobite uprising.
1809. Fatal accident. 70 persons drowned.
1811. Meikle Ferry Disaster Fund to be distributed among bereaved relatives amounted to £2,909.
1812. Iron bridge built at Bonar across narrowest part of Dornoch Firth. Took much traffic from Meikle ferry.
1835. Ferry boat hit an anchor 15 or 20 yards from shore. Boat began to sink. 17 persons on board. 1 passenger attempted to swim ashore but drowned. Ferryman swam to small boat nearby and rescued rest of passengers.
1830s. /

15 contd.

1830s. No landing quays built.

Low tide created difficulty for landing. It was not uncommon for the ferry boat to be required to sail up the Firth for 3 or 4 miles and back again to give time for the tide to advance sufficiently to provide a dry landing.

1837. Joseph Mitchell used this ferry.

Menteith, Port of

1. Menteith, Port of.
2. Central.
3. Lake of Menteith. Inchmahome Priory.
4. NN 5800.
5. Callander 8. Stirling 14.
8. 1238.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat. 20th century. motor boat.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1466/7. Port of Menteith erected burgh of barony. 1680. Erected burgh of regality.
1547. Mary, Queen of Scots used ferry to hide in Priory.

Millheugh

1. Millheugh.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Avon.
4. NS 7451.
5. Hamilton 7. Larkhall 3.
8. 1745.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Coal.

Millport

1. Millport.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Largs 4.
4. NS 1654.
5. Great Cumbrae Island.
8. 1790s.
9. Number unknown.
10. Open boats.
19th century. Steam boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Visitors. Animals. Goods.
15. 1791. Only road on island to be maintained was road to ferry,
two miles from village.
1840s. Quay built at Millport village giving direct access to
steam ferry boats.

Monaltrie

1. Monaltrie.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 2495.
5. Balmoral Castle $\frac{1}{2}$. Braemar 9.
8. Ferry still in use in 19th century.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants, particularly those employed on Monaltrie estate.
15. 1761. Ferry boat replaced.
1762. Ferry boat replaced.
1768. Ferry boat replaced after being destroyed by ice.
Ferryman to be held responsible.
1779. Ferry boat replaced.

Montrose

1. Montrose.
2. Tayside.
3. Montrose Basin. Ferryden to Ferryboatness.
4. NO 7156.
5. Aberdeen 38. Brechin 9.
6. 1178.
7. 1795. Replaced by bridge which incorporated drawbridge for passage of ships. Foundation became unsafe.
1829. Second bridge completed. A suspension bridge designed by Sir Samuel Brown. Cost £23,000.
9. Number unknown.
10. Rowing boat(s).
11. 1178. Ferry rights transferred from Helias, clerk to William I, to Abbey of St. Thomas at Arbroath.
1281. Michael Fleming bequeathed ferry rights by his brother Robert Fleming, Lord of Werdors.
16th century. Ferry rights acquired by the lairds of Craig or Rossie.
16th century-1663. Carnegies of Craig.
1663-1666. David, Lord Lowry.
1666-1795. Scotts of Rossie.
12. 1670. Tacksmen, Charles Maitland of Halton, "the ferrie boat and passage of Montrose, with profits...".
13. 1790s. No ferry boat was permitted to sail on Sundays.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Merchants. Animals.
Goods.
15. 1124. Montrose mentioned as a burgh.
1755-1758. Dispute between magistrates of Montrose and Scott of Rossie regarding improvements and raising of fares at ferry. Court of Session found in favour of Scott of Rossie.
1795. Scott of Rossie awarded £2,825 compensation for loss of ferry on completion of bridge.
1795. Redundant ferrymen paraded over new bridge carrying oars draped in black over their shoulders.

Monymusk

1. Monymusk.
2. Grampian.
3. River Don.
4. NJ 6815.
5. Aberdeen 19. Braemar 47. Inverurie 9.
8. 1840s.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 1840s. Sir Anstruther Grant.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1588/9. Monymusk erected burgh of barony. 1612. Erected
burgh of regality.
1840s. An "excellent inn" on the Monymusk side of the river Don.
An "ale-house" on the opposite side.

Moulin

1. Moulin.
2. Tayside.
3. River Garry.
4. NN 9063.
5. Blair Atholl 2. Pitlochry 4.
7. 1770. Replaced by bridge.
8. 1683.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1767. Fatal accident. 27 people drowned.

Moy, Boat of

1. Moy, Boat of.
2. Highland.
3. River Canon.
4. NH 4556.
5. Contin $\frac{1}{2}$. Dingwall 11. Muir of Ord 9.
8. 1730s.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Marquis of Seaforth.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Nairn

1. Nairn.
2. Highland.
3. Moray Firth. Cromarty 8.
4. NH 8857.
5. Forres 11. Inverness 16.
8. 1852.
9. One.
10. A packet boat.
13. Fare for single passenger, 2/-.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1852. Service operating daily in summer.

Newhaven

1. Newhaven.
2. Lothian.
3. Firth of Forth. Burntisland 6. Kirkcaldy 9.
Kinghorn 7. Pettycur 8.
4. NT 2577.
5. Edinburgh 2.
7. 1848. Superseded by the opening of the Granton railway ferry.
8. 1469.
10. Prior to 1820s. Pinnaces, yawls.
After 1820s. Steam boats.
11. Edinburgh Town Council.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Officials. Animals. Vehicles.
Freight. Mail.
15. 1792. Fife Ferry Trustees allocated £1,000 to build new pier.
1811. Act for improving communication between County of Edinburgh
and County of Fife:
Building of Landing place at Newhaven allocated money,
half raised by local subscribers and half donated by
government. Cost £12,000.
1826. Additional £8,000 allocated to the further improvement
of landing quay (chain or suspension construction) by the
Navy Board.
1848. This pier and ferry fell into disuse with the opening of
the Granton railway ferry.

Newlands, at Cairnie Pier

1. Newlands at Cairnie Pier.
2. Tayside.
3. Firth of Tay. Ferryfield of Carpow 1.
4. NO 1919.
5. Glencarse 2. Perth 6.
8. 18th century.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 19th century. Sir John Richardson of Pitfour.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Merchants. Goods.
15. 19th century. An inn established at this ferry.
 1840s. Complaint regarding lack of "low water piers" at this
 ferry.
 Sign post placed at ferry. Prospective passengers
 stood beside post to attract attention of ferryman
 based on the opposite shore.

Newport or Seamyles

1. Newport or Seamyles.
2. Fife.
3. Firth of Tay. Dundee $1\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NO 4127.
5. Cupar 11. Woodhaven 1. St. Andrews 10.
8. 1481.
9. Prior to 1821, exact number unknown.
After 1821. Four.
10. Prior to 1821. Pinnaces, yawls.
After 1821. One steam boat, a pinnace, a yawl and a large sail boat.
11. 1481. Alan Kinnaird of that Ilk.
1565. Patrick Kinnaird.
1806. Berry of Tayfield.
14. Local inhabitants. Officials. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles.
Freight. Coal. Grain.
15. 1605 and 1665. Regular ferry service temporarily stopped to
prevent spread of plague.
1772. Opening of bridge at Perth affected ferry traffic.
1806. Berry of Tayfield built new turnpike road to Cupar.
By 1816. Newport established as principal ferry location on
Fife side of the Tay estuary.

Newstead

1. Newstead.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 5634.
5. Newtown St. Boswells 2. Melrose 1.
8. 1670s.
15. 1670s. John Graham of Claverhouse said to have used ferry.

Newton's Ferry

1. Newton's Ferry.
2. Central.
3. River Carron.
4. NS 9182.
5. Airth 4. Falkirk 2.
8. 1748.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. River Carron tidal at this ferry. When tide is out,
ferry can be forded.

North Berwick

1. North Berwick.
2. Lothian.
3. Firth of Forth. Earlsferry 10.
4. NT 5585.
5. Dunbar 13. Edinburgh 24.
7. Circa 1700. Replaced by ferry services at shorter crossings
from Leith, Newhaven and Queensferry.
8. 11th century.
14. Local traders. Travellers. The Earls of Fife and their
retinue. Pilgrims going to St. Andrews.
15. 12th century. Small chapel with a hospice built near ferry point.
1425. North Berwick erected a royal burgh.

Oban

1. Oban.
2. Highland.
3. Sound of Mull. Sound of Kerrera. Port Kerrera $\frac{3}{4}$.
Sound of Mull. Aros 9.
4. NM 8630.
5. Crianlarich 41. Inveraray 38.
8. 1784.
9. Number unknown.
10. 1784. Open small boat with "neither decks nor rigging".
Also boats with 2 oarsmen carrying 4 passengers.
1801. Boat with sails and 4 oars.
13. 1784. Fare to Mull. 1 guinea.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ guinea for each day boat retained.
To Ferryman 2 bottles of whisky.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Cattle. Horses.
15. 1794. MacDougall of Dunollie, proprietor of Kerrera ferry boats,
applied for redress for encroachment upon his rights of
ferry by Oban villagers. The Commissioners of Supply
gave no direct response but the matter was apparently
resolved by the acceptance by Dunollie of the
recommendation to raise the fares of saddle horses
to 2/6d.
1820. Oban erected burgh of barony.

Orchard

1. Orchard.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Eachaig.
4. NS 1582.
5. Kilmun 3. Sandbank 3.
8. 1820.
9. One.
10. Large rowing boat.
11. 1820s. Elizabeth Campbell of Orchard.
14. Local inhabitants. Cattle.

Otter, Easter

1. Otter, Easter.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Fyne. Wester Otter $1\frac{1}{2}$. Silvercraigs $1\frac{1}{2}$. Port Ann $1\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NR 9384.
5. Strachur 18. Tighnabruich 9.
8. 1559.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Large rowing boat(s) with sail.
11. 17th century. Lamonts of Silvercraigs.
18th century. Campbells of Silvercraigs.
12. 1747. John Black.
13. 1770. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	6d.
2 or more passengers	3d.(each)
1 man, 1 horse	9d.
1 Cow, bound and laid	2d.
1 Cow, when standing	$1\frac{1}{2}$ d.
3 Sheep	1d.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1744. Statute labour directed to repair quays at Easter and Wester Otter.
1747. £10 Sterling allocated to Douglas McTavish of Drumdury to repair quay at Wester Otter. Money was not used for this purpose.
1747. Statute labour directed to repair quay at Easter Otter.
1748. £12 allocated to construction of quay at Easter Otter.
1748. McTavish of Drumdury again ordered to pay £10 for repair of quay at Wester Otter.
1769. /

15 contd.

- 1769. Complaint regarding poor service at the Otter ferry.
- 1769. Public enquiry into the allocation of money for the repair of quays at Easter and Wester Otter and the application of that money.
- 1770. Further enquiry regarding payment and application of public money for building of quay at Wester Otter.
- 1773. Quay at Easter Otter completed. Quay at Wester Otter incomplete and inadequate. Complaint regarding the lack of safety in the embarking of cattle at Wester Otter.
- 1774. £20 allocated to construction of quay at Wester Otter.
- 1774. Estimate of cost of completing building of quay at Wester Otter, £72 Sterling. James Campbell of Silvercraigs advanced £72. Money to be repaid £20 annually for 3 years, £12 paid in 4th year.
- 1840. Small pier built at Wester Otter.

Ferry Inn

- 1747. Ferry inn at Easter Otter.

Smuggling

- 1747. James Black, ferryman's son "the most audacious smuggler" caught between Greenock and Gourock in his yawl.

Otter (Wester)

1. Otter, Wester.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Fyne. Easter Otter $1\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NR 9187.
5. Inveraray 17. Lochgilphead 5.
8. 1559.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Large rowing boat(s) with sails.
11. 1665. Sir James Lamont.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Perth

1. Perth.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay. Bridgend.
4. NO 1223.
5. Dundee 21. Pitlochry 27. Stirling 33.
6. 1622.
7. 1772. Replaced by bridge designed by Smeaton and cost £26,631.
9. Approximately 30.
10. Small, medium, large. All propelled by oars.
11. Perth Town Council.
13. Regulations:

1762. Small boat to carry not more than 4 persons.

Middle-sized boats to carry not more than 6 persons.

Largest boats to carry not more than 12 persons.

These conditions apply only to market and fair days. On every other day only half the above number of passengers permitted. Only the largest boats permitted to transport horses although the medium-sized boats could transport one man with a horse.

1762. Extract from fares charged: in daytime:

1 passenger	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
1 Horse	1d.
1 Man, 1 Horse	1d.
1 Coach or other machines with 4 wheels	1/-
1 Chaise with 2 wheels	6d.
1 Loaded Cart	4d.
1 Empty Cart	2d.

Extract from fares charged at night:

1 Passenger	$1\frac{1}{2}$ d.
1 Horse	$1\frac{1}{2}$ d.
1 Man, 1 Horse	$1\frac{1}{2}$ d.
1 coach or other machines with 4 wheels	1/6d.
1 Chaise with 2 wheels	6d.
1 Loaded Cart	6d.
1 Empty Cart	3d.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Merchants.

15. 1124. Perth erected a burgh.

Ferryrymen all resided at Bridge-end on north side of passage.

1655, 1671, 1730. Ferryrymen disciplined for breaching ferry regulations by Perth Town Council.

1736. One condition of obtaining the let of a ferry boat from Perth Town Council was to transport gravel from river bed to the North Inch.

Peterculter

1. Peterculter.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NJ 8501.
5. Aberdeen 7. Banchory 11.
8. 1734.
14. Local inhabitants. Members of Peterculter parish church.

Pettycur

1. Pettycur.
2. Fife.
3. Firth of Forth. Newhaven 8. Leith 8.
4. NT 2686.
5. Burntisland 2. Kinghorn $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. 1820s. Regular ferry service superceded by the employment
of steam boats at Kinghorn.
8. 1625.
9. 1625. One.
18th century. Number unknown.
10. Pinnaces, yawls "of different sizes".
11. 17th century. Kinghorn Town Council.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles. Freight. Mail.
1792. "A company of reapers from the Highlands, going south".
15. 1625. Violent storm destroyed ferry boat.
1792. Comment on length and inconvenience of the passage.

Pitnacree

1. Pitnacree.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay.
4. NN 9253.
5. Ballinluig 4. Dunkeld 13. Pitlochry 8.
8. 1684.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
13. Fares were paid in kind.
14. Local inhabitants. Goods.
15. 1684. Warning given by Privy Council regarding the passing
of stolen goods over this ferry. Penalty, 500 merks.
1751. Complaints by Logierait ferrymen concerning undercutting
of fares by Pitnacree ferrymen.

Point House

1. Point House (See Govan).

2. Strathclyde.

3. River Clyde. Govan.

4. NS 5565.

5. Clydebank 4. Glasgow 1.

8. 1593.

10. 16th century, rowing boat.

17th century, rowing boat.

Late 18th century, boat moved across river on a fixed chain.

11. 1789. Claud Lang, proprietor of ferry.

13. 1759. Ferry free of tolls, rates, dues.

14. Local inhabitants. Goods.

18th century. Carts. Horses.

15. 1789. Lang requested Glasgow City Council to rebuild quay
which had been damaged in the excavation of the river
Clyde.

1789-1797. Dispute between Lang and Glasgow City Council
continued. Lang refused to accept offer of £50 to
renovate quay.

1797. Glasgow City Council agreed to proceed with repairing
ferry quay.

Polhollick

1. Polhollick.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 3496.
5. Ballater 1. Crathie 5.
7. 1892. Replaced by footbridge.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. Ferry house at Polhollick.

Poolewe (on Loch Maree)

1. Poolewe (on River Ewe).
2. Highland.
3. Loch Maree. Letterewe 8.
4. NG 8580.
5. Gairloch 6. Ullapool 50.
8. 1850.

10. A four-oared boat.

A two-oared boat.

12. 4 ferrymen.

13. Charge: 4-oared boat 1/- per mile

 2-oared boat 6d per mile

In both cases the addition of a bottle of whisky.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Poolewe (to Stornoway)

1. Poolewe (to Stornoway).
2. Highland.
3. The North Minch. Stornoway 90.
4. NG 8580.
5. Gairloch 6. Ullapool 50.
8. 1756.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Packet boat(s).
13. 1834. Mail packet. Government paid £150 per annum for
this service.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Drovers. Animals,
(black cattle). Vehicles. Freight. Mail.
15. 1756. Regular postal service to Lewis began.
1834. Mail packet sailed once a week.
1838. Joseph Mitchell missed the packet boat (it left 2 hours
early) and was rowed a third of the distance to meet a
fishing boat which conveyed him to Stornoway.

Port Allen

1. Port Allen.
2. Tayside.
3. Firth of Tay. Newburgh $2\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NO 3021.
5. Dundee 15. Perth 10.
8. 1791.
9. One.
10. Pinnace.
13. 19th century. Fare for a single passenger 6d.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Merchants.
15. 19th century. Port Allen regarded as the harbour serving
the Carse of Gowrie.
1814. Tay frozen over. Travellers walked across
the usual ferry passage.

Port Ann

1. Port Ann.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Fyne. Easter Otter $1\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NR 9185.
5. Carrick 1. Inveraray 18. Lochgilphead 4.
8. 1559.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Large rowing boat(s) with sails.
11. 1665. Sir James Lamont.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Port Appin

1. Port Appin.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Linnhe. Port Ramsay.
4. NM 9045.
5. Fort William 29. Oban 26.
8. 1740.
9. One.
10. Large rowing boat with sail.
12. 1799. Regulation that 2 able-bodied men "do always attend the
ferry".
13. Charges made:

	<u>1772</u>	<u>1799</u>
1 single passenger	3d.	3d.
More than 1 passenger	2d.	2d.
1 Man, 1 Horse	6d.	9d.
1 Pedlar's horse	4d.	9d.
1 Country horse	4d.	6d.
4 wheeled chaise, 2 horses	4/-	5/-
2 wheeled chaise, 2 horses	2/6d.	3/-
1 Cart and horse	2/-	

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Animals. Vehicles.
Goods.

15. 1766. Complaint (of long standing) regarding the inadequacy
of only 1 boat which is stationed at Port Appin. Travellers
can be detained for several days on Lismore.
1840. Inn established at this ferry.

Portchrenan or Kilchrenan

1. Portchrenan or Kilchrenan.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Awe. South Port $\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NN 0421.
5. Inveraray 13. Port-Sonachan 1. Taynuilt 9.
8. 1681.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Sailing boat with oars.
11. 1681. Duke of Argyll.

Portencross

1. Portencross.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Rothesay 15.
4. NS 1749.
5. Ardrossan 6. Largs 11.
8. 1371.
11. 14th century-1737. The Boyds of Portencross.
1737-19th century. Crawford of Auchnames.
14. 14th century. Robert II.
Local inhabitants. Goods.
15. 1371-1380. Seven charters granted by Robert II with reference
to ferry location.

Portincaple

1. Portincaple.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Long Long.
4. NS 2393.
5. Arrochar 8. Garelochhead 3.
8. 1745.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat with sail.
11. Dukes of Argyll.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Portindornoch

1. Portindornoch.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Long Long. Coulport.
4. NS 1887 (approximately).
5. Ardentinnny $\frac{1}{2}$. Blairmore or Portinstuck $5\frac{1}{2}$.
7. 1782. Superceded by ferry at Ardentinnny.
8. 1702.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Sailing boat(s) with oars.
13. 1702. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	3d.
1 Man, 1 horse	2d.
1 Horse and cart	3d.
1 Score sheep	1/-
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles.
Goods.
15. 1767. The quay to be repaired.
1782. Military road built to give better access to Ardentinnny.

Portinlick

1. Portinlick.
2. Highland.
3. Kyle of Sutherland.
4. NH 5796.
5. Bonar Bridge 4. Invershin 1.
8. 1852.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers, especially when Kyle of Sutherland Cattle Trysts held.

Portinnisherrick

1. Portinnisherrick.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Awe. Dalavish $\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NM 9711.
5. Dalmally 19. Kilmartin 11.
8. 1681.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. 18th century. General Campbell of Monzie.
12. 1810. Donald Turner.
14. Local inhabitants. Animals. Goods.
15. 1681. Privy Council ordered boat to be "putt under securitie and good caution" for military reasons.
1766. Petition by Heritors of Kilchregan and Dalavich proposed a new road be built "by the farm of Durran and the Bridge of Leckan".
1810. Petition against Donald Turner, ferryman, by Major Dugald Campbell, younger, of Kilmartin for illegal ferrying.

Port Kerrera

1. Port Kerrera.
2. Island of Kerrera.
3. Sound of Kerrera. Oban $\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NM 8429.
5. Barr nam Boc (Island of Kerrera) 3.
8. 1769.
9. Two.
10. One large rowing boat, one small rowing boat.
11. MacDougall of Dunollie.
12. 1840s. Duncan MacDougall, ferryman, paid in corn meal by tenants

of Kerrera;

<u>Name of tenant</u>	<u>Place of abode</u>	<u>Weight of corn meal</u>
Allan MacDougall	Slatrich	1 stone
Archibald MacDougall	"	" "
Angus MacKinnon	"	" "
Hugh MacLachlan	Ardmore	4 pecks
Donald MacInnes	Barnabuck	1 peck
Allan MacDougall	"	" "
Allen MacGregor	"	4 pecks
John MacCallum	West Gylen	1 peck
Alexander MacCallum	" "	" "
John MacCulloch	Park of Gylen	" "
Angus MacDougall	Ardchoick	" "
Malcolm Livingston	"	" "

13. 1767-1813. No change in rates charged.

1813. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	1/6d.
Each person attending cows, horses or sheep	6d.
1 man, 1 horse	3/-
1 cow	2/6d.
Every head of black cattle in a lot consisting of 4 or more	1/2d.
1 single horse	2/6d.
Every parcel of sheep under 10 in number	2/6d.
1 score ewes	5/-
1 score wedders	6/-

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Cattle.

Sheep. Horses. Goods. Mail.

15. 1769. Complaint regarding neglected state of quays and roads in Kerrera. Inhabitants directed (by Commissioners of Supply Committee) to "complete work on the road through Glen Sheileach and then spend the rest of their statute labour on the road between the two ferrying places in Kerrera", i.e. Port Kerrera and Barr nam Boc.

1771. Estimate for repairing quays at Port Kerrera and Barr nam Boc, £46 sterling.

1819. MacDougall of Dunollie paid £12 statute labour money to repair quays at Port Kerrera and Barr nam Boc.

1853. Wood to make oars supplied by MacDougall of Dunollie;
2 large trees for pair of oars for large ferry boat.
2 small trees for pair of oars for small ferry boat.

Portnacraig

1. Portnacraig.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tummel. Pitlochry.
4. NN 9357.
5. Blair Atholl 7. Perth 27. Pitlochry $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. 20th century. Replaced by suspension bridge for pedestrians.
8. 1684.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants.

Port Ramsay

1. Port Ramsay.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Linnhe. Port Appin.
4. NM 8946.
5. Achnacroish (Island of Lismore) 4.
8. 1740.
9. One boat stationed at Port Appin.
10. Large rowing boat with sail.

13. 1772. Charges made:

	<u>1772</u>	<u>1779</u>
1 single passenger	2d.	2d.
More than 1 passenger	6d.	9d.
1 Man, 1 Horse	4d.	9d.
1 Pedlar's horse	4d.	6d.
1 Country horse	4d.	6d.
4 wheeled chaise, 2 horses	4/-	5/-
2 wheeled chaise, 2 horses	2/6d.	3/-
1 Cart and horse	2/-	2/-

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Animals. Vehicles.
Goods.15. 1766. Complaint (of long standing) regarding the inadequacy
of only 1 boat stationed at Port Appin. Travellers can
be detained for several days on Lismore.

1784. Complaint regarding the inadequacy of the boat and the landing
place.

Port-Sonachan

1. Port-Sonachan.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Awe. South Port $\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NN 0421.
5. Kilchrenan $1\frac{1}{2}$. Inveraray 14. Taynuilt 8.
8. 1681.
9. Two.
10. Sailing boat with oars.
Rowing boat.
11. 18th century. Duke of Argyll.
13. 1773. New fares introduced:

1 single passenger	2d.
4 wheeled chaise, 2 horses	3/-
2 wheeled chaise, 2 horses	2/-
Saddle horse and rider	4d.
Countryman's horse (same as before)	3d.
Pedlar's horse (now to be)	4d.

Footnote: Inhabitants of Kilchrenan being small tenants, cottars and lab^uorers shall be liable to only "half fraught".^A

1812. Fares being charged:

1 single passenger	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
1 horse, 1 man	6d.
1 horse, 1 cart, 1 driver	1/6d.
1 Sheep	1d.
1 Head of black cattle	1d.
1 Bull, above 1 year old	1/-
1 Bull, under 1 year old	4d.

1813. /

13 contd.

1813. Fares reviewed and new fares established:

1 single passenger	4d.
1 man, 1 horse	1/- (when no other passengers present)
	9d. (with other passengers)
4 wheeled chaise, 2 horses	5/3d.
4 wheeled chaise, 4 horses	6/6d.
Cart load over 2 cwt. 1 horse	2/3d.
Sheep, under 3	2d. each
Sheep, over 3	1½d. each
Black cattle	6d. each
1 Bull	1/3d.
Bags over 1½ cwt.	3d. each
1 Barrel	3d.

1832. Fares reviewed. New fares established:

1 single passenger	3d.
1 horse, 1 rider	6d.
4 wheeled chaise, 2 horses	5/6d.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Animals. Vehicles.

Freight. Mail (prior to 1800).

15. 1681. Privy Council ordered boats to be "putt under securitie
and good caution" for military reasons.

1759. Petition to reinforce Cladich ferry location on the
east side of Loch Awe, as a new military road was
being built to Cladich village. This could provide
better access to a ferry. Petition refused.

1800. Francis Rolandson, Post Office surveyor in Scotland
proposed to change postal route to the west. Port -
Sonachan ferry no longer carried mail.

Potarch

1. Potarch.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee.
4. NO 6097.
5. Aboyne 6. Banchory 7.
7. 1812. Replaced by bridge at Potarch.
8. 18th century.
14. Local inhabitants. Cattle droving.
15. 1813. Potarch new venue for "Bartle Fair" (St. Bartholomew).

Preston

1. Preston.
2. Borders.
3. River Whitadder.
4. NT 7956.
5. Abbey St. Bathans 3. Coldstream 12. Duns 2.
8. 1670-1689.
9. One.
12. 1687. James Wilson, cobleman in Preston.
1689. John Brown.
14. Local inhabitants. Members of Preston parish church.
15. 1670. 17th April. "No sermon by reason of the greatness
of the waters".
1687. 20th May. "Infringement of Public Morals. Betty
Wilson, daughter to James Wilson, Cobleman in Preston".
1689. 5th July. Baptism of Bessy, daughter of John Brown,
boatman of Preston, and Isabell Bell.

Queensferry, North

1. Queensferry, North.
2. Fife.
3. Firth of Forth. South Queensferry. 2.
4. NT 1380.
5. Culross 10. Dunfermline 6. Inverkeithing 2.
8. 1164.
9. 1603. Four.
 1689-1700. Eight.
 1700-1722. Four.
 1722-1821. Eight.
 1821-1838. Twelve.
 1838 onwards. Five.
10. 1749. Four "large boats".
 Four yawls.
 1814. Report. Boats flat-bottomed, draw little water.
 Readily drawn up to quay.
 1821-1838. One steam boat. "The Queen Margaret".
 Four large sailing boats: Prince Regent, Blair Adam,
 Primrose, Earl of Moray.
 Three pinnaces: Pitfirrane, Dunearn, Keavil.
 Three yawls.
 1838. One steam boat, William Adam (cost £2,800)
 Two large boats.
 Two pinnaces.
11. Prior to 1184. Malcolm IV and his predecessors.
 1184-1669. Abbots of Dunfermline Abbey.
 1669-1810. Landed proprietors (including Lord Primrose,
 Earl of Rosebery, Robert Scott Moncrieff of
 Newhalls, Mathew Wilkie of Bonnington, James
 Thomson WS for Sir Robert Preston, John Dundas
 WS for James Dundas of Dundas). All held shares
 in the ferry.
 1810-1877. Trustees of the Queensferry Passage.
12. /

12. 1164-1838. Ferryman all resided in North Queensferry.
1275. Abbot of Dunfermline Abbey granted 8 oars in ferry boat to 7 persons; one was a woman.
John Armiger had 2 oars. Remaining oarsmen:
Peter, son of Adam; Thomas, son of Bernard;
Richard de Kirkeland; Magote de Craggy;
John Floker; Eve, daughter of John Harloth.
Annual rent of each oar, 8d.
- 1618, 1621, 1622, 1633. Complaints regarding behaviour and skills of ferryman.
1669. Owners of boats:
Archibald Wilson owned 'Yester Friggitt'.
Jean Mowbray owned 'Burgane'.
John Allan owned 'Issobel' and 'Burgane Yawl'.
1793. Ferryman protected from being press-ganged.
1821. Weekly wages for ferryman on steamer:
- | | |
|----------|-------------|
| Engineer | £1. 10. 0d. |
| Skipper | £1. 5. 0d. |
| Seaman | 18. 0d. |
| Fireman | 17. 0d. |

13. Fares charged:

- | | | |
|-------|----------------|----------------|
| 1474. | 1 passenger | 1d. |
| | 1 horse | 2d. |
| 1559. | 1 passenger | 4d. |
| | 1 man, 1 horse | 8d. |
| 1634. | 1 passenger | 1/4d. (Scots) |
| | 1 man, 1 horse | 3/4d. (Scots) |
| 1746. | 1 passenger | 2/- (sterling) |
| | 1 horse | 4/- (sterling) |
| 1823. | 1 passenger | 6d. |
| | 1 horse | 1/- |

Ferry Regulations.

1647. Institution of 'The Ferry Silver'. Ferry boat captains collect following charges for repair of landing places:

13 contd.

"ilk duke, earl, viscount	3 shillings 4 pence
ilk lord	1 shilling 8 pence
for ye man or woman	1 penny
ilk horse, cow, ox	2 pence
ilk twenty sheep	4 pence."

Collector of "Ferry Silver" instructed to pay a "crown per quarter" to the bell ringer and keeper of the clock at North Queensferry.

1749. Inspection of boats twice yearly. Carried out by "an able carpenter and sailor".

1749. A bell to be rung every two hours at North Queensferry. The time regulated by the public clock in North Queensferry. First bell 4 a.m.: last bell 8 p.m. 1st March to 31st August. First bell 8 a.m.: last bell 4 p.m. 1st September to end February. On market days ferrymen to disregard ringing of bell and cross immediately with cargo.

1749. All ferry boats moored at North Queensferry at night.

1749. Captain of each ferry boat posted list of crew members at inns on each side of passage.

Each boat required to have name painted on stern.

Every night, captain of each ferry nominated crew member to watch for signal for ferry boat raised on south side.

1809. Superintendent appointed, Captain James Scott, R.N.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Officials. Animals. Vehicles. Freight. Mail.

1811. Average of 228 persons per day.

Carriages, 1,515

Carts 4,254

Horses 13,154

Cattle 18,057

Sheep 25,151

Barrel bulk 5,520

Dogs 2,615

1828. 1,000 cattle a day could be transported.

15. /

15. 1164-1603. Successive Scottish kings and queens and their households used this ferry.
1617. James VI used this ferry on several occasions.
1636. Queensferry erected a royal burgh.
1651. Cromwell crossed on the ferry passage.
1764. Five Justices of the Peace contended that cattle from Annexed estates were transported by this ferry and the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates should allocate money to the upkeep of the ferry.
1772. Commissioners for the Annexed Estates awarded £980 for construction of piers. An additional £400 was allocated.
1775. A further £100 was allocated by the Commissioners.
1809. Survey of necessary improvements carried out by Rennie. Estimated cost, £20,333.
1838. Time taken for passage in steam boat, half-an-hour.

Queensferry, South

1. Queensferry, South.
2. Lothian.
3. Forth Estuary. North Queensferry 2.
4. NT 1378.
5. Edinburgh 9. Linlithgow 9.
8. 1164.
9.)
10.)
11.)
12.) See Queensferry, North.
13.)
14.)
15. 1576/7. South Queensferry erected burgh of regality.

Rannoch, Loch

1. Rannoch, Loch.
2. Tayside.
3. Loch Rannoch. Kinloch Rannoch to Finart 9.
4. NN 6658.
5. Aberfeldy 18. Pitlochry 20.
8. 1681.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1681. Privy Council ordered boat(s) to be "putt under securitie
and good caution" for military reasons.

Renfrew

1. Renfrew.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde. Yoker (North Renfrew).
4. NS 5068.
5. Glasgow 6. Greenock 16. Paisley 3.
7. 1984. Decline in demand.
8. 1614.
9. 18th century. One.
19th century. Two.
10. Prior to 1791 Rowing boat.
1791. Rope operated boat "built by subscription purposely for carriages: in which by means of a rope, fixed upon each side of the river and running upon four rollers, two at each end of the boat; one placed in a horizontal direction, and the other perpendicular, any carriage, with a pair of horses, can be easily boated and carried over by one man in five minutes".
1835. A rowing boat.
Chain operated boat "open at both ends and moved along a chain by a hand windlass".
11. The Burgh of Renfrew.
12. 1835. Robert Jameson, ferryman, allowed deduction in yearly rent by ferrying all children travelling to school in Renfrew and all parishioners crossing the ferry to attend Renfrew Parish Church.
13. 1829. Regulation to keep men in the north ferry house from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. to pay "greater attention to persons passing the ferry during the night".
14. /

14. Local inhabitants. Workers. Cattle. Carts. Carriages.
Animals. Freight.

15. 1124. Renfrew mentioned as a burgh.

1791. Ferry re-sited half-a-mile to the west to the side of the Pudzeoch Canal. Ferry formerly between the King's Inch and Blawart-hill. The reason for removal of ferry was the construction of a mansion house by wealthy merchant Alexander Speirs. Access to the ferry was through the gardens of this house.

The Town Council agreed to move the ferry location and in return Archibald Speirs, son of Alexander Speirs, built two new quays, a ferry house with stabling for six horses on the south bank and a road to the new ferry.

1791. A ferry house on each side of the river.

1794. Ferry said to be "singular and particularly convenient. It is believed there is nothing of the same construction in Britain."

Rhemore or Fernish

1. Rhemore or Fernish.
2. Highland (Morvern).
3. Sound of Mull. Ardnacross (Island of Mull) 2.
4. NM 5750.
5. Lochaline village 11.
8. 1790s.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders.
Black cattle. Other animals. Goods.
15. 1790s. No pier existed at this ferry.
1794. A "dram house" established at the ferry.

Rhu or Row

1. Rhu or Row.
2. Strathclyde.
3. The Gare Loch. Roseneath 3.
4. NS 2683.
5. Dumbarton 9. Helensburgh 2.
8. 1702.
9. Number of boats unknown.
10. Open packet. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles. Goods.

Rhynd, Easter

1. Rhynd, Easter.
2. Tayside.
3. River Earn. The Ferryfield of Carpow.
4. NO 1818.
5. Abernethy 6. Bridge of Earn 2. Perth 3.
8. 1653.
9. Two.
10. Rowing boats. Larger boat for horses, coble for foot passengers.
11. 1653. Sir John Moncrieff of that Ilk.
1664. Mr. Patrick Keir of Kininmonth.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Roan, Boat of

1. Roan, Boat of.
2. Dumfries and Galloway.
3. Loch Roan.
4. NX 6974.
5. Crossmichael 2. Castle Douglas 5.
8. 1745.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Roberton

1. Roberton.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde.
4. NS 9426.
5. Biggar 10. Crawford 7.
7. 1661. Replaced by bridge.
8. 1597.
11. 1660. Sir William Baillie of Littlegill.
14. Local inhabitants going to labour in fields on opposite side of river.
Pack horse traffic going from Leadhills to Biggar.
15. 1597. Complaint made that this was "no fitting place for ferrie boat throw the feircenes of the current neir the steip mountaines and hillis".
1631. Roberton erected burgh of regality.
1661. Sir William Baillie requested to build bridge over Duneaton Water simultaneously with constructing bridge at Roberton. He was empowered to collect monies to meet the expense. Further, he and his heirs were entitled to collect "the custome of both bridges and to be continued dursing the space of twenty-seven years after building and complieting of the said bridges".
1707. Exacting custom at Roberton and Duneaton bridges renewed for further twenty-one years in favour of Cecilia Wedderburn, descendant of William Baillie, Lady Littlegill and her son William Baillie.

Rosehall

1. Rosehall.
2. Highland.
3. River Oykel just below influx of river Cassley.
4. NC 4702.
5. Bonar Bridge 12. Lairg 7.
7. 1850. Replaced by bridge over river Oykel.
8. 1747.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1747. Bishop Pococke used this ferry.

Rosemarkie

1. Rosemarkie.
2. Highland.
3. Moray Firth. Fort George (Ardesier) $1\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NH 7357.
5. Cromarty 9. Fortrose 1.
8. 1124.
9. Number of boats unknown.
10. Open sailing boats, incapable of conveying passengers, horses and chaise in one journey.
14. Local inhabitants. Churchmen. Animals. Goods.
15. 1791. Recorded that this ferry was "so safe ... that there is not an instance of any being lost on it in the memory of man".

Roseneath

1. Roseneath.
2. Strathclyde.
3. The Gare Loch. Row or Rhu 3.
4. NS 2583.
5. Garelochhead 6. Kilcreggan 3.
8. 1702.
9. Number of boats unknown.
10. Open packet boat. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles. Goods.

Rothsay

1. Rothsay.
2. Strathclyde. Island of Bute.
3. Firth of Clyde. Gourock. Greenock.
4. NS 0864.
5. Kilmichael 10. Kingarth 8.
8. Prior to 1813.
9. Number of boats unknown.
10. Prior to 1820s. Packet boats, open sailing boats,
passage boats called "Flies".
After 1820s. Steam boats.
13. 1813. Journey to Gourock up to 3 days. Cost £7. 14. 0d.
for a family.
1837. Journey to Gourock, under 2 hours.
7 steam vessels ply regularly to and from Gourock and
Greenock. Cost: (per passenger) Cabin 2/-, Steerage 1/6d.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Visitors. Traders. Animals.
Vehicles. Freight.

Rothiemurchus

1. Rothiemurchus.
2. Grampian.
3. River Spey.
4. NH 8910.
5. Grantown 14. Kingussie 12.
8. 1852.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Men working in forest of Rothiemurchus.

Rowardennan

1. Rowardennan.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Lomond. Inverbeg 1. Luss 3. Tarbet 4.
4. NS 3598.
5. Drymen 10.
8. 1625.
11. 1790s. "Family of Montrose".
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods. Horses.
15. 1791. New quay built. "Convenient" inn.
 18th and 19th centuries. Ferry used by visitors who climbed
 Ben Lomond.
 1801. Leigh and Reichard recorded, "For the convenience of
 ladies ponies are on hand which will carry them to
 within a short distance of the summit (6 miles)".

Rownacairn

1. Rownacairn.
2. Highland.
3. Argyllshire. Water passage unidentified.
4. OS grid reference unlocated.
8. 1772.

13. 1772. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	2d.
Two or more passengers	1d. (each)
1 Saddle horse and rider	4d.
1 Pedlar's horse	4d.
1 Countryman's horse	3d.
1 4 wheeled chaise and 2 horses	3/-
1 2 wheeled chaise and 2 horses	2/-
1 2 wheeled chaise and 1 horse	1/6d.
1 Cart with 1 horse	1/6d.
All horses numbering more than one	4d. (each)

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles. Goods.

Roxburgh

1. Roxburgh.
2. Borders.
3. River Teviot.
4. NT 7030.
5. Jedburgh 7. Kelso 3. St. Boswells 9.
8. 1599.
11. Earls of Roxburghe.
12. 1599. John Best and William Rea.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Visitors to Floors Castle.
15. 1119. Roxburgh mentioned as burgh.
 1599. Best and Rea, ferrymen, accused of stealing "40 widders
 and ewes".
 1746. An ale house established at ferry.

Rugarve

1. Rugarve.
 2. Strathclyde.
 3. Loch Creran. Rubha Riabhach (north or south) 1.
 4. NM 9341.
 5. Barcaldine 3.
 7. 1780. Superceded by ferries of Shian and Creagan.
 8. Prior to 1733.
 9. Two.
 10. Large rowing boats with sails. Boats frequently in poor condition.
 11. 18th and early 19th centuries. Campbells of Airds and Glenure.
 14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles. Goods.
 15. 1733. Rugarve appointed as principal ferry location
on west side of Shian ferry.
- 1770s. New road built to Shian (west). No adequate access road
to Rugarve. Proposed line of road from Craignook to Rugarve
discontinued.
1775. Argyllshire Road Trustees recommended "publick ferry be
removed from Rugarve to Shian". Five years allowed to
complete the implementation.
1780. Rugarve superceded by Shian (west) as ferry location on
west side of Shian ferry.

Rutherford

1. Rutherford.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 6431.
5. Kelso 6. St. Boswells 4.
8. 14th century.
11. 19th century. Sir Edmund Antrobus.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 14th century. Robert I granted canons of Kelso the hospice
of St. Mary Magdalene.
1666. Rutherford erected burgh of barony.

Saddell

1. Saddell.
2. Strathclyde. Kintyre.
3. Kilbrannon Sound. Immachar (Island of Arran) 8.
4. NR 7931.
5. Campbeltown 18.
8. 1852.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

St. Catherines

1. St. Catherines.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Fyne. Inveraray 2.
4. NN 1207.
5. Arrochar 17. Strachur 8.
8. 1680.
9. One.
10. Until 1830, rowing boat with sail.
1830 onwards, small steamer.
11. Late 18th century. Donald Campbell of St. Catherines.
12. 1777. Malcolm McLean.
13. 1797. Fares from St. Catherines Ferry to Inveraray:

1 single passenger	8d. sterling
2 foot passengers	8d. between them
2 or more passengers	4d. each
1 man, 1 horse	9d.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Merchants. Animals. Freight.
15. 1769. Quay repaired.
1821. New quay built. Cost £83. 10. 0d.

Scalasaig

1. Scalasaig.
2. Island of Colonsay.
3. Atlantic Ocean. Kinuachdrach (Island of Jura - north),
Feolin (Island of Jura - south), 16.
4. NR 3993.
5. Port na Feamin l.
8. 1772.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Open boat(s) propelled by a sail and oars.
11. MacNeil of Colonsay.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Black cattle.
Other animals. Goods.
15. 1772. 300 black cattle ferried.
1811. Small harbour at Scalasaig with single pier.
1840s. "Substantial quay" built at Port na Feamin.
"Small but neat inn" established beside quay.

Scanipport

1. Scanipport.
2. Highland.
3. River Ness.
4. NH 6037.
5. Inverness 5.
8. 1811.
9. One.
10. Coble.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Scarinish

1. Scarinish.
2. Island of Tiree.
3. Atlantic Ocean. Tobermory (Island of Mull) 35.
Arinagour (Island of Coll) 18.
4. NM 0445.
8. 1748,
9. Exact number unknown.
10. 18th century. Some boats open from end to end, others decked
or half-decked with open hatch-way for loading.
Larger boats held up to 50 cattle. Stones, which
acted as ballast, covered with osier twigs to lessen
strain on boat timbers and to prevent cattle dung
clogging boat pumps.
13. 1791 Fare charged for a boat and hands, 12/- to 15/-.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders. Black cattle.
Other animals. Coal. Mail.
15. 1791. Stated ferry operating between Scarinish and Arinagour.
No stated ferry operating between Scarinish and Tobermory
at this time.

1840s. Communication irregular and uncertain between Tiree and
Coll and Tiree and Mull.

1840s. The harbour poor with all boats "great and small hauled
up high and dry during 4 months of the year (end of
November to the end of March).

Scatwell, Milltown of

1. Scatwell, Milltown of.
2. Highland.
3. River Conan.
4. NH 4654.
5. Dingwall 10. Muir of Ord 9.
8. 1852.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. Ferry above ford at confluence of rivers Conan and Meig.
Ford passable only in good weather.

Sconser

1. Sconser.
2. Island of Skye.
3. Narrows of Raasay. Clachan.
4. NG 5931.
5. Broadford 13.
8. Between 1590 and 1615.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1773. Dr. Johnson used this ferry.

Scoulag

1. Scoulag.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Firth of Clyde. Large 8.
4. NS 1160.
5. Rothesay 4 (Island of Bute).
8. 1680.
11. 1703-1796. The Earls of Bute.
1796 onward. The Marquises of Bute.
12. 1680. Donald McFie.
1770s. William Montgomerie.
13. 1791. Ferry operates once per week.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1680. Conditions of appointment for ferryman.
 - i. No other persons should carry out the ferrying but himself.
 - ii. He must always be prepared to provide "victuals, drink and lodging for strangers at the ferry, for which and for his honest behaviour caution was exacted from him".

1773. William Montgomerie received tack of "Scoulag parks and shore" for a 10 year lease.

He sent a proposal to the Earl of Bute's factor suggesting a reduced rent for first two years (as he could not make the farm pay a profit in that time). In lieu he undertook to administer the ferry.

His petition was agreed but he was required to pay 20/- annually from the proceeds of the ferry.

Scuddale

1. Scuddale.
2. Highland.
3. River Conon.
4. NH 4854.
5. Muir of Ord 5. Dingwall 7.
8. 1765.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
13. 1765. Fare charged: 1 chaise, 2 horses 2/6d.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Mail.
15. 1765. Complaint regarding the expense of this ferry, (5/- for crossing twice in one day). Complaint regarding the inadequacy of the ferry boat to transport wheeled vehicles.

Selkirk

1. Selkirk.

2. Borders.

3. Ettrick Water.

4. NT 4628.

5. Edinburgh 40. Galashiels 6. Hawick 12.

8. 1714.

9. One.

15. 1328. Selkirk mentioned as a burgh.

1714. Ferryman a recurring expense in records of burgh council.

Complaint: county court hearings delayed when river high.

Shian or Shean

1. Shian or Shean.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Creran. Shian (north or south) 1.
4. NM 9142.
5. Creran 3. Oban 9. Port Appin 2.
8. 1681.
9. Two.
10. Large rowing boats with sails. Boats frequently in poor condition.
11. 18th and early 19th centuries. Campbells of Airds, Barcaldine and Glenure.
12. 1799. "2 able men to be kept at the ferry on both sides".
1832. 2 men at each side of ferry with additional assistance in stormy weather.

13. 1799. Fares established:

1 single passenger	4d.
1 pedlar horse	9d.
1 country horse	6d.
1 saddle horse and rider	9d.
1 4 wheeled chaise	5/-
1 horse and cart	2/6d.

A copy of these regulations posted in "some conspicuous part of the ferry house".

1832. Review of fares charged:

	<u>Previous fare</u>	<u>Present fare</u>
1 single passenger	6d.	6d.
1 Carriage with 4 horses	10/6d.	8/-
1 Gig with 1 horse	3/6d.	3/-
1 Horse and Cart	3/-	2/-
All shod horses (each)	1/-	1/-
Unshod horses (each)	9d.	6d.
1 Cow	9d.	6d.
1 Bull	9d.	1/-

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles. Goods.
15. 1681. Privy Council ordered boats to be "putt under securitie and good caution" for military reasons.
1773. Proposal to establish Rugarve as the only ferry across Loch Creran.
1775. Act passed to continue ferry locations at Shian and Creagan across Loch Creran. Rugarve to be replaced by these ferries but ferry at Rugarve permitted to function for 5 years before being closed.
- Ferry houses to be built on each side of the ferry.
1776. Ferry houses not built.
- Cost of ferry houses not to exceed £30 Sterling.
- Argyllshire Road Trustees directed Duncan Campbell of Glenure (ferry proprietor) to erect ferry houses before 1st August 1776 or be fined £10 Sterling.
1822. Lorn Road Trustees allocated £1. 10. 0d. towards the maintenance of the quays.
1845. Complaints regarding the delay and inconvenience of this ferry: carriages required to be manhandled on to the boat and there was no adequate supervision.

Shillahill

1. Shillahill.
2. Dumfries and Galloway.
3. River Annan.
4. NY 1080.
5. Lockerbie 2. Lochmaben 3.
7. 1860s. Replaced by the building of a bridge.
8. 1830s.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.

Silvercraigs

1. Silvercraigs.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Fyne. Easter Otter $1\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NR 8984.
5. Inveraray 21. Lochgilphead 4.
7. 18th century. Gradually superceded by ferry location of Wester Otter or Port Ann.
8. 1559.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Large rowing boats with sails.
11. 1559. Robert Lamont.
18th century. James Campbell.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1559. The Lamonts wished to control this ferry to safeguard their possessions.

Skarfskerry

1. Skarfsferry.
2. Highland. Caithness.
3. Pentland Firth. Burwick (on South Ronaldsay) 13.
4. ND 2674.
5. Thurso 13.
8. 1815.
9. Two.
10. One large boat for carrying horses, cattle.
One smaller boat for passengers.
11. Traill of Skarfskerry.
13. 1801. Charges made;

1 horse	1/4d.
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1815. Charges made;

1 horse	3/6d.
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14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.

Skipness

1. Skipness.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Kilbrannan Sound.
4. NR 9057.
5. Auchameanach 3. Tarbert 14.
8. 1810.
9. One.
10. Large open boat propelled by 4 oars.
12. 4 ferryman.
14. Local inhabitants. Animals. Goods. Whisky.
15. 1810. There was not a regular service as passengers relied
on the willingness of the ferryman.
Whisky was smuggled on this ferry.

Spatt's Carn

1. Spatt's Carn.
2. Highland.
3. River Carron.
4. Unlocated on OS map.
5. Culrain 4. Tain 16.
8. 1747.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat large enough to carry one horse.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Horses. Cattle. Goods.
15. 1747. Bishop Pococke used this ferry.

Sprouston

1. Sprouston.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 7535.
5. Kelso 2. Newtown St. Boswells 14.
8. 1790s.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Dukes of Roxburghe.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1790s. Ale-house situated at ferry.

Stenhouse

1. Stenhouse.
2. Central.
3. River Carron.
4. NS 8882.
5. Falkirk 4. Stirling 13.
8. 1748.
9. Two, west boat, east boat.
10. Rowing boats.
11. 1748. Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse.
14. Local inhabitants. Traders. Goods.

Stirling

1. Stirling.
2. Central.
3. River Forth.
4. NS 7994.
5. Callander 16. Dunfermline 22. Perth 33.
6. 1297, with the destruction of a wooden bridge at the battle of Stirling Bridge.
7. Middle 15th century. Replaced by stone bridge, known as the "Old Bridge."
(See 15 below for additional comments regarding reinstatement and interruptions to ferry services).
11. 1388. Parish church of Stirling granted right of ferry.
13. 1745. Ferry rates:

1 single passenger	6d. Scots
1 man, 1 horse	1/6d. Scots
1 full cart, 1 horse	1/-d Scots
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Merchants. Troops. Animals.
Goods.
15. 1124 Stirling mentioned as a burgh.
- 1297-1408. Ferry functioned.
1408. Old Bridge built.
1715. After battle of Sheriffmuir retreating troops broke arch of Old Bridge.
- 1715-circa 1720. Ferry services resumed.
- 1720-1745. Bridge repaired and in use.
1745. South arch of Old Bridge destroyed by General Blakeney, governor of Stirling Castle to embarrass Jacobite army.
- 1745-circa 1750. Ferry services resumed.
- 1750-1831. Old Bridge repaired and in use.
1831. New Bridge erected 100 yards down river. Designed by R. Stevenson. Cost £17,000.

Stornoway

1. Stornoway.
2. Isle of Lewis.
3. The North Minch. Poolewe 98.
4. NB 4232.
5. Tarbert (Isle of Harris) 37.
8. 1756.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Packet boat(s).
11. Mackenzie of Seaforth.
13. 1834. Mail packet. Government paid £150 per annum for this service.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Drovers. Animals
(particularly black cattle). Vehicles. Freight. Mail.
15. 1756. Regular postal service established.
1785. "Excellent piers and quays for loading and unloading vessels".
1834. Mail packet sailed once a week.

Strachur

1. Strachur (See Creggans).
2. Highland.
3. Loch Fyne. Furnace.
4. NN 0802.
5. Creggans 1. Inveraray 22. Tarbert 23.
8. 1563.
15. Creggans was the ferry location for Strachur although the
ferry was sometimes called Strachur ferry.

Stromeferry

1. Stromeferry.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Carron. Stromemore.
4. NG 8634.
5. Kyle of Loch Aish 8. Strathcarron 8.
8. 1609.
9. Two.
10. Large rowing boat with sails and smaller boat for foot passengers.
13. 1803. Fare charged for single passenger 6d. and a "dram of whisky to the ferryman".

1820. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	6d.
1 horse and rider	1/-
1 4 wheeled carriage, 2 horses	5/-
1 2 wheeled carriage, 2 horses, driver	2/-
1 loaded cart and horse	2/-
1 empty cart and horse	1/-
Black cattle when less than 6	4d.
Black cattle, more than 6	3d.
Lambs	$\frac{1}{2}$ d. (each)

Prior to 1826. Cost of carrying mail £4. 10/- per annum for 6 days per week.

1826. Charge for mail 6d. per crossing for 6 days per week.

This was the charge for ferrying at night and mail was frequently transported at night.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Animals. Vehicles. Goods. Whisky. Mail.

15. /

15. 1609. Used by Macdonald family and clansmen.
1791. Ferry used to smuggle whisky on the route from Skye to Inverness.
1803. James Hogg used this ferry.
1811. "Convenient inn established at the ferry on each side".
1815. New piers built on both sides of ferry. Cost met by Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges. Sir Hugh Innes of Balmacara had agreed to provide a new ferry boat.
1819. Rickman, Telford and Southey visited Stromemore to be transported to Strome ferry. No ferry boat was available. The travellers were forced to retrace steps to Inverness.
- 1840s. Cockburn commented on inadequacies of ferry which was "without proper boats, piers or any apparatus". He referred to the transport of mail, "When our ferrymen were loitering on the south side, it was curious to hear them excited to activity by the mail-horn on the other".

Strontian

1. Strontian.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Sunart. Liddesdale.
4. NM 8161.
5. Acharacle 14. Ardgour 14.
8. 1749.
14. Local inhabitants. Drovers. Cattle. Goods. Mail.
15. 1730. Lead mine developed by York Buildings Company. Established cattle market.
1803. Postal service used this ferry.

Tain

1. Tain.

2. Highland.

3. Firth of Dornoch. Dornoch 5.

4. NH 7782.

5. Bonar Bridge 14. Invergordon 13.

8. 1745.

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Soldiers. Horses.

Goods.

15. 1439. Tain mentioned as a burgh.

1745. Lord Macleod transported royalists troops across ferry.

The undertaking required three journeys because the boats
were too few and too small.

Tarbert

1. Tarbert.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Fyne. Portvadie 5.
4. NR 8668.
5. Campbeltown 38. Lochgilphead 13.
8. 1600.
9. Number unknown.
10. 1804. Ferry boat described by Thomas Thornton:
 "very much resembling a condemned west-country barge".
 Bottom of boat covered in "faggots or hurdles".
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1600. James VI commanded "all the boatmen and ferriers upon
 the Water of Clyde and the whole sea coast thereabout
 to repair to the ferry at Tarbett with their boats on
 the said 12th July and there attend for transporting
 the army".

Tarbert

1. Tarbert.
2. Island of Harris.
3. The Little Minch. Uig (Island of Skye) 28.
Duirinish (Island of Skye) 30.
4. NG 1599.
5. Rodel : (Island of Harris) 22.
8. 1782.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. 18th century. Some boats open from end to end, others decked
or half-decked with open hatchway for loading.
Larger boats held up to 50 cattle.
Stones, which acted as ballast, covered with
bracken to lessen strain on boat timbers and
prevent cattle dung blocking boat pumps.
11. Macleods of Harris.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders. Black cattle.
Other animals. Kelp. Mail.
15. 1782. Quay built.
1840s. Mail ferried once weekly to Uig.

Tarbert, East

1. Tarbert, East,
2. Strathclyde. West Tarbert.
3. West Loch Tarbert.
4. NR 8668.
5. Campbeltown 38. Lochgilphead 13.
8. 1754.
9. Exact number of boats unknown.
10. Rowing boat(s), with sail.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1765. £10 allocated by Argyllshire Commissioners of Supply towards making "a proper landing place".
1769. "The Road money of Tarbert" (amount unspecified) allocated to the making of a quay on condition that no further demand be made for this purpose.

Tarbert, West

1. Tarbert, West.
2. Strathclyde. East Tarbert.
3. West Loch Tarbert.
4. NR 8668.
5. Campbeltown 38. Lochgilphead 13.
8. 1754.
9. Exact number of boats unknown.
10. Rowing boat(s), with sail.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1754. Statute labour on constructing a quay.

Tarbet

1. Tarbet.

2. Strathclyde.

3. Loch Lomond. Rowardennan 4.

4. NN 3204.

5. Dumbarton 22. Luss 8.

8. 1625.

13. 1804. The stated fare at ferries was not always accepted by the ferrymen.

9/6d. given to two ferrymen which they indicated was unsatisfactory. (The usual daily wage at this time was 6d.).

14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.

Tay, Loch

1. Tay, Loch.
2. Tayside.
3. Loch Tay. Kenmore to Killin. 15.
4. NN 7745.
5. Aberfeldy 6. Perth 38.
8. 1681.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
13. Official Charge, 1790s, 1800s - 1/- per mile.
 1786. Ferryman charged 3/- for outward journey:
2/- for return journey.
 1801. Official rate charged for journey with the addition
of 2/6d. for a bottle of gin.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1681. Privy Council ordered boat(s) to be "putt under securitie
and good caution" for military reasons.

Tayinloan

1. Tayinloan.
2. Strathclyde. Kintyre.
3. Sound of Gigha. Ardminish $4\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NR 6945.
5. Campbeltown 22. Tarbert 23.
8. 1760.
13. 1770. Charges made:

1 passenger	2/-
2 or more passengers	1/- each
5 passengers	5/- between them "and no more".
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Traders. Goods.
15. 1772. The inhabitants of Gigha to pay road money towards building a quay at the ferry place of Tayinloan.

Tayvallich

1. Tayvallich.
2. Strathclyde.
3. Loch Sween. Ashfield. $1\frac{3}{4}$.
4. NR 7 4 8 7
5. Lochgilphead 12.
8. 1781.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1781. Cost of repairing landing quay, 15/-.

Thankerton

1. Thankerton.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde.
4. NS 9737.
5. Biggar 6. Lanark 7.
7. 1778. Replaced by a bridge.
8. 1662.
11. 1662. Bailies and council of Lanark.
14. Foot passengers. Travellers.
15. 1662. Lanark "baillies and counsell is content to give to the botteris at Thankerton boat to help to build the samin ten merks Scots".

Thornhill

1. Thornhill.
2. Dumfries and Galloway.
3. River Nith.
4. NX 8795.
5. Cumnock 28. Dumfries 14.
7. 1777. Replaced by bridge.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
15. 1664. Thornhill erected burgh of regality.

Thurso

1. Thurso.
2. Highland.
3. River Thurso.
4. ND 1168.
5. Helmsdale 44. Inverness 131. Wick 21.
8. 1726.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
13. "The families of the neighbourhood give the ferrymen a small yearly allowance. Strangers pay what they please to give".
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1633. Thurso erected burgh of barony.
"Ford for riding at upper end of town".

Tibbers

1. Tibbers.

2. Dumfries and Galloway.

3. River Nith.

4. NX 8696.

5. Cumnock 26. Dumfries 16. Thornhill 2.

8. 1770s.

Tinwald

1. Tinwald.
2. Dumfries and Galloway.
3. Lochar Water.
4. NX 9981.
5. Dumfries 4. Moffat 17.
7. 1730s. Replaced by bridge.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
15. 1730s. Timber bridge built.
1780s. Stone bridge built.

Tobermory

1. Tobermory.
2. Island of Mull.
3. Atlantic Ocean. Arinagour (Island of Coll) 25.
Sound of Mull. Oban. 28.
4. NM 5055.
5. Ardnacross 5. Salen 9.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. 18th century. Some open sailing boats, others decked or
half decked.
19th century. Steam boats.
13. 1791. Fare charged for boat and hands, 12/- to 15/-.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders.
Animals. Freight. Mail.
15. 1791. Stated ferry between Tobermory and Arinagour.
No stated ferry between Tobermory and Scarinish at this time.
1815. Pier built. Cost £1,455. 5. 4d.
1830. Mail boat sailed once a week between Tobermory, Coll
and Tiree. Post Office provided £15 per annum.

Tongue

1. Tongue.
2. Highland.
3. Kyle of Tongue. Achuvoldrach.
4. NC 5858.
5. Durness 30. Heilam 10. Thurso 44.
8. 1830.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat, large.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Animals. Goods.
15. 1830. New slipways and quays built.

Comment made regarding inconvenience of this ferry.

Suggestion for shortening length of passage by constructing a "mound" between the point of ferry and the island positioned off-shore. This proposal was supported by the argument that the water was shallow, there was little current and there were suitable materials readily available.

Torry

1. Torry.
2. Grampian.
3. River Dee. Lower ferry at Aberdeen at entrance to the harbour.
Above Bridge of Dee built 1527.
4. NJ 9505.
5. Aberdeen 1.
7. 1881. Replaced by Victoria Bridge.
8. 1495.
9. One.
10. A "yoll".
11. Aberdeen Town Council.
12. In 1648 Andro Rait, Master of Impost, authorised to be the
tackaman for the ferry. The ferryman lived in the Blockhouse.
14. Local inhabitants.
15. 1877. Fatal accident. Lives of 32 out of 60 passengers lost.

Troqueer

1. Troqueer.
2. Dumfries and Galloway.
3. River Nith.
4. NX 9775.
5. Dumfries $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. 1877. Replaced by bridge (suspension).
14. 1800s. Workers in grain mills.
1860s. Workers in tweed mills.

Trossachs

1. Trossachs (pier).
2. Central.
3. Loch Katrine. Stronachlachar 4.
4. NN 4907.
5. Aberfoyle 6. Callander 10.
8. 1803.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat, medium-sized.
12. Two ferrymen, man and boy.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
15. 1803. Dorothy and William Wordsworth used this ferry and found it poorly administered.

Tullich, Boat of or Tullich, Cobletown of.

1. Tullich, Boat of or Tullich, Cobletown of.
 2. Grampian.
 3. River Dee.
 4. NO 3996.
 5. Ballater $1\frac{1}{2}$. Aboyne $9\frac{1}{2}$.
 7. 1866. Replaced by bridge, very highly arched.
 8. 1684.
 9. One.
 10. Rowing boat.
 11. Earls of Aboyne.
 14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.
 15. 1684. One of ferry passages listed by Privy Council facilitating the passage of stolen cattle.
- Late 18th century and early 19th century Tullich became a small spa visited by many seeking help from the Pannianich wells.

Tulliford or Tillieford

1. Tulliford or Tillieford.
2. Strathclyde.
3. River Clyde.
4. NS 8941.
5. Biggar 12. Lanark 3.
7. 1773. Replaced by bridge. Known as Hyndford Bridge.
8. 1717.
11. 1717. Baillies and council of Lanark.
14. Foot passengers. Coal and peat from Douglas pits and moors.
15. 1717. Sir James Carmichael of Bonnington attempted to block the right of way from the ferry. The burgh magistrates appealed to him to remove the obstruction. He agreed. The ferry continued to function as before.

Tummel

1. Tummel.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tummel.
4. NN 9159.
5. Dunkeld 10. Pitlochry 3.
8. 1681.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
14. Local inhabitants.

Uig

1. Uig.
2. Island of Skye.
3. The Little Minch. Tarbert (Island of Harris) approx. 28.
4. NG 3963.
5. Portree (on island of Skye) 15.
8. 1782.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. 18th century. Some boats open from end to end, others decked
or half-decked with open hatchway for loading.
Larger boats held up to 50 cattle.
Stones, which acted as ballast, covered with birch
branches, heather or bracken to lessen strain on boat
timbers and prevent cattle dung blocking boat pumps.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Traders. Black cattle.
Other animals. Goods. Mail.
15. 1840s. Mail ferried once weekly to Tarbert (on island of
Harris).

Ullapool

1. Ullapool.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Broom. Altnaharrie $\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NH 1293.
5. Inverness 60. Lairg 45. Lochinver 37.
8. 1786.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat, large.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Drovers. Cattle. Goods.
15. 1786. Introduction of centre for British Fisheries Society.
Development of Ullapool.

Ulva

1. Ulva.
2. Island of Ulva (west of Island of Mull).
3. Loch Tuath. Gribon (Island of Mull) $\frac{1}{2}$.
4. NM 4439.
5. No nominated villages on island of Ulva.
8. 1773.
11. MacQuarris of Ulva.
13. 1810. Fares charged:

1 single passenger	1/6d.
2 passengers	1/- each
3 or more passengers	8d. each

When passengers required 4 ferryman, fare charged to be
one half more than the normal rates.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Goods.
15. 1773. Dr. Johnson used this ferry.

Unes

1. Unes.
2. Highland.
3. Loch Fleet.
4. NH 7798.
5. Golspie 4. Kirkton $\frac{1}{2}$.
8. 1467.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Prior to 1630. John, 13th Earl of Sutherland.
 1630. Sir Robert Gordon (uncle to John, 13th Earl of Sutherland).
 Annual rent 40 bolls of barley.
14. Local inhabitants. Grain for the "girnle of Golspie".
15. 1467. Fatal accident. Daughter of the Earl of Ross, Lord of
 the Isles, drowned on the way to her marriage to John,
 8th Earl of Sutherland.

Urray, Boat of

1. Urray, Boat of.
2. Highland.
3. River Orrin.
4. NH 5052.
5. Dingwall 10. Muir of Ord 8.
8. 1730s.
9. One.
10. Rowing boat.
11. Marquis of Seaforth.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Members of the Kirk of Urray.
Family and employees of Brahan Castle. Goods.
15. 1730s. "A good change-house" established for the convenience
of passengers.

Wark

1. Wark.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 8238.
5. Coldstream 2. Kelso 7.
8. 1898.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers. Visitors to Wark Castle.
15. 1898. Ferry service suspended due to blocks of ice floating
down river.

Waulkmill

1. Waulkmill.
2. Tayside.
3. River Tay.
4. NO 1028.
5. Dunkeld 12. Perth 2.
8. Mid 17th century.
9. 18th to early 19th century, one boat.
From early 19th century, two boats.
10. 18th to early 19th century, rowing boat.
Early 19th century. Rowing boat and chain driven twin-hulled boat.
11. The Earls of Mansfield.
14. Local inhabitants. Workers going to bleachfields at Stanley,
early 19th century.

Wester, Loch of or Waster Water

1. Wester, Loch of or Waster Water.
2. Highland.
3. Loch of Wester.
4. ND 3358.
5. John o' Groats 10. Wick 6.
8. 1852.
9. One.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers.

Westhouses

1. Westhouses.
2. Borders.
3. River Tweed.
4. NT 5234.
5. Galashiels 1½ Melrose 2.
7. 1750. Replaced by bridge built at Darnick.
8. 1581.
11. 16th century. Ormiston of Westhouses.
14. Local inhabitants. Travellers from south to Edinburgh.

Woodhaven

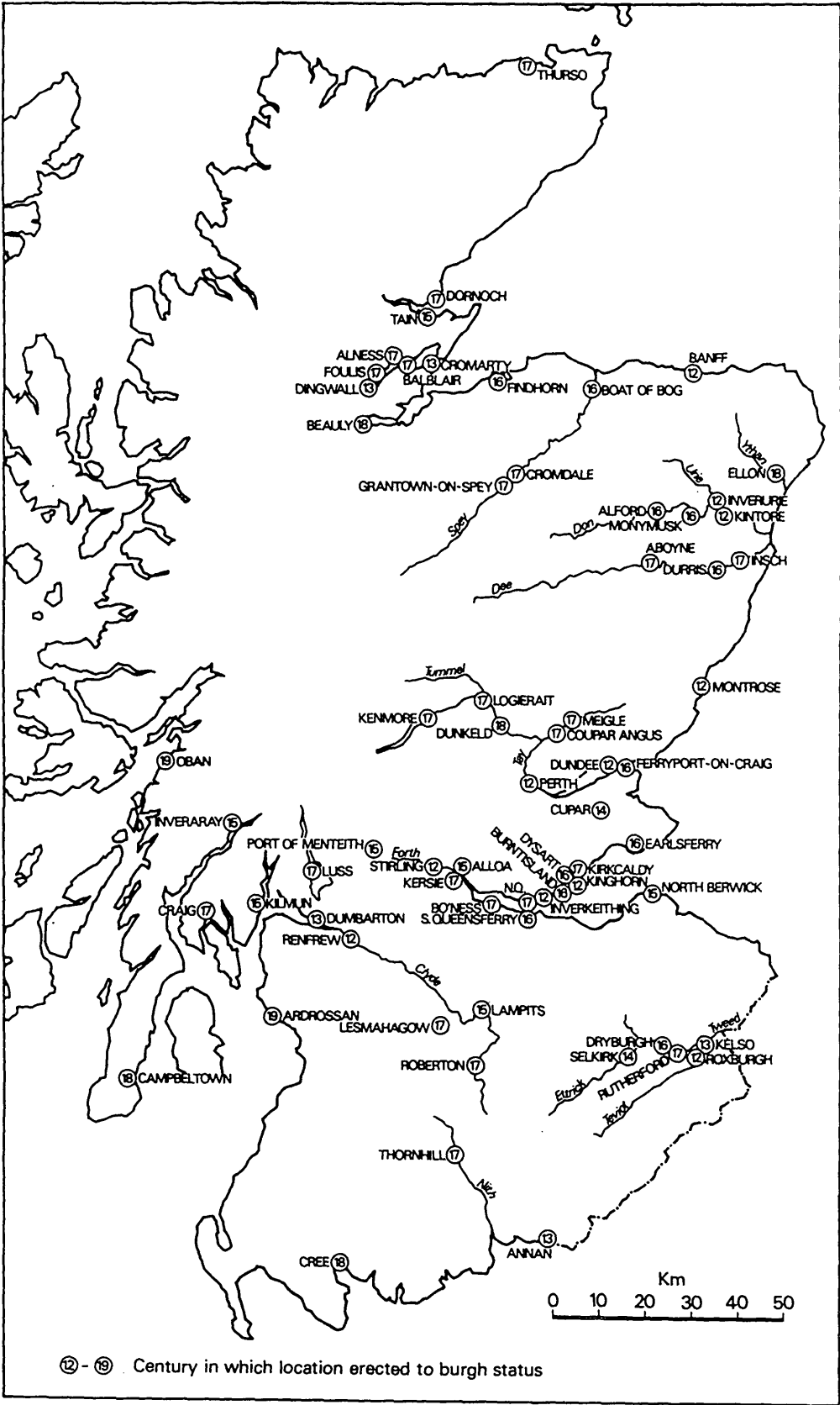
1. Woodhaven.
2. Fife.
3. Firth of Tay. Dundee 2.
4. NO 4126.
5. Cupar 11. Newport 1. St. Andrews 10.
7. Middle of 19th century. Displaced by ferry at Newport.
8. 1516.
9. Exact number unknown.
10. Prior to 1821. Pinnaces, yawls.
After 1821. Steam boat, pinnaces and yawls.
11. 18th century. Proprietor of estate of Forgan.
13. 1770s. For transportation of 1 chaise 4/-d.
14. Local inhabitants. Officials. Travellers. Animals. Vehicles.
Freight. Coal. Grain.
15. 1772. Opening of bridge at Perth affected ferry traffic.
1770s. Proprietor of Forgan built new roads from Woodhaven to Cupar.
1770s-1806. Woodhaven principal ferry location on Fife side of
Firth of Tay.
1806. Turnpike road built at Newport. Traffic at Woodhaven declined.
1821. Steam boat to sail from Dundee alternately to Newport and
Woodhaven.
1822. Woodhaven-Dundee passage abandoned by steam boat.
Decline of Woodhaven as a ferry location.

Castles and Cathedrals, established by the 14th century, found to be near the sites of ferries.



FOOT NOTE : Although the date of origin of some ferries could not be traced, the probability of a link between a ferry and the adjacent castle or cathedral cannot be ruled out.

Ferries at Locations with Burgh Status



Ferry Locations Without Links to Burghs

